PR
3671
S75fZs

AA000366007 3
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

CHARLES SHADWELL

HIS COMEDY THE FAIR QUAKER OF DEAL

by

Theodor Schenk

Gaylord Bros.
Makers
Stockton, Calif.

CHARLES SHADWELL.

HIS COMEDY

The Fair Quaker of Deal.

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY

OF BERNE

BY

THEODOR SCHENK

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

PRINTED BY BÜCHLER & CO., BERNE.

1913.

CHARLES SHADWELL.

HIS COMEDY

The Fair Quaker of Deal.

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY

OF BERNE

BY

THEODOR SCHENK

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

PRINTED BY BÜCHLER & CO., BERNE.

1913.

Auf Antrag des Unterzeichneten von der philosophischen Fakultät angenommen.

Bern, den 14. Januar 1910.

Der Dekan:

Prof. Dr. E. MÜLLER-HESS.

PREFACE.

Charles Shadwell's "*Fair Quaker of Deal*" stood in high favour with the London stage of the 18th century. It holds a prominent place among that kind of farcical literature as it developed after the great period of the Restoration Drama had closed. In the 'Cambridge History of English Literature' it is classed with plays of Cibber, Gay, Fielding, and Mrs. Centlivre. The present thesis has for its object to contribute something to the characterisation of the period not only by analysing the "*Fair Quaker*," but also by tracing the fate of the comedy and, in particular, that of the Quaker on the stage of the century. A biographical sketch of Charles Shadwell along with a few notes on the rest of his plays are given in an introductory chapter.

The writer begs to express his thanks to Professor Müller-Hess, of Berne University, for his valuable suggestions and kind help in the elaboration of this thesis.

215011

CONTENTS.

Works consulted 7

I. Notes on Shadwell's Life and Publications:—

1. Shadwell's Family 11
2. His London Plays 13
3. In Dublin 15
4. The Five New Plays 19
5. Dedications and Patrons 22

II. The Fair Quaker of Deal:—

1. Editions 25
2. Analysis:—
   a) Plot and Structure of the Play 27
   b) The Moral Tone of the Comedy 43
   c) The Humours 46
   d) General Remarks 53
3. The Stage-History of the Fair Quaker, with a side-reference to contemporary theatrical customs:—
   a) Success of the Play and Dates of Performance 56
   b) The Players 59
   c) E. Thompson's Alteration 61
   d) Auxiliary Entertainments 63
4. Sources of the Play 72

III. The Quaker in the Comedy of the 18th Century 82

1. The Quaker's Language 84
2. Creed 88
3. Dress, Manners, etc. 92
4. The Stage-*Motifs* of Equivoke, Violation of Propriety, and Contrast used through the Quaker 96

Conclusion 99

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/charlesshadwellh00sche

WORKS CONSULTED.

Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature, 3 vols. 1859—1871.

Archer, F., How to Write a Good Play, London, 1892.

Baines, C. E., A Short History of English Literature. London 1909.

Baker, Thos, The Humours of the Age, a comedy. 1701.

Barker, J., The Drama Recorded. London, 1814.

Beaumont and *Fletcher*, Works. London, 1812.

Beljame, Alexandre, Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au 18me siècle. 1660—1744. 2e édition. Paris, 1897.

Biographia Britannica, or the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland. 6 vols. 1747.

Biographia Dramatica, by Baker, Reed, and Jones. London, 1812.

Booth, Barton, Memoirs of the Life of B. B. with his Character. London, 1733.

Brewer, Cobham, Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. London, 1901.

The British Theatre, containing the Lives of the English Dramatic Poets. Dublin, 1750.

Brownsmith, J., The Dramatic Time-Piece. London, 1767.

The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. VIII. Cambridge, 1912.

Centlivre, Mrs., Dramatic Works. London, 1872.

Chetwood, W. R., The Lover's Opera. London, 1729.

Cibber, Colley, An Apology for the Life of Mr. C., Comedian. Written by himself. 1740. Ed. with notes by E. Bellchamber. London, 1822.

— Dramatic Works. With an account of the life and writings of the author. London, 1760 ff.

Cibber, Theophilus, The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Actors etc. London, 1753.

Clarkson, Thomas, A Portraiture of Quakerism. Third edition. 3 vols. London, 1807.

Collier, Jeremy, A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage. London, ed. 1730.

The Companion to the Playhouse. London, 1764.

Congreve, William, The Plays, edited by A. C. Ewald. The Mermaid Series. 1903.

Dancourt, Carton, Les Œuvres de Théâtre de Mr. D. Nouv. édition. 12 tom. Paris, 1760.

Davies, Thomas, Memoirs of the Life of D. Garrick, edited by S. Jones. London, 1808.

Dibdin, Charles, A Complete History of the English Stage. London, 1800.

— The Quaker. Com. op. London, 1780.

Dictionary of National Biography. 1885 ff.

Doran, Dr. F. S. A., Their Majesties' Servants. People's edition. London, 1897.

Dublin, The History of the Theatre Royal. 1870.

Drury Lane Theatre. A Collection of Memoranda etc. relating to D. L. Th. Mus. Mark Bks. 3. i. etc. London, 1711—1830.

— A Series of Playbills of Drury Lane Theatre. Mus. Mark N. R. London, 1754—1845.

— A Collection of Newspaper Cuttings relating to D. L. Th. Mus. Mark N. R. London, 1777—1834.

— A Collection of Playbills of D. L. Th. Mus. Mark 321 *b*—*d*, 322 *b*. London, 1780—1885.

D'Urfey, Thomas, The Richmond Heiress, or A Woman Once in the Right. Comedy. London, 1719.

Egerton, William, Faithful Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. A. Oldfield, London, 1731.

Egerton, John, Bookseller. Theatrical Remembrancer. London, 1788.

Farquhar, George, Dramatic Works, edited by A. C. Ewald. 2 vols. London, 1892.

Fielding, Henry, Works, edited by G. Saintsbury. 12 vols. London, 1893.

Fitzgerald, Percy, A New History of the English Stage, from the Restoration to the Liberty of the Theatres, in Connection with the Patent Houses. 2 vols. London, 1882.

Foote, Samuel, Dramatic Works, edited by J. Badcock. 3 volumes. London, 1830.

Friends, Society of. Observations on the Quaker-Pecularities of Dress and Language. London, 1836.

Galt, John, The Lives of the Players. London, 1831.

Genest, John, Some Account of the English Stage. 10 vols. Bath, 1832.

Green, John Richard, History of the English People. 1877—1880.

Hamilton, Newburgh, The Petticoat Plotter, a Farce. London, 1720.

Harlequin, The British Stage, or the Exploits of H. [a satire on the public taste for pantomime]. London, 1724.

— Harlequin Student, or the Fall of Pantomime, with the Restoration of the Drama, an entertainment. London, 1741.

— An Exact Account of the Favourite Pantomime called Harlequin's Chaplet. London, 1790.

[*Haslewood, J.*], The Secret History of the Green Rooms. New edition. London, 1795.

Hazlitt, W., Lectures on the English Comic Writers. London, 1818.

— The Play-collector's Manual. London, 1892.

Heywood, Thomas, Dramatic Works. 6 vols. London, 1874.

Hitchcock, Robert, A Historical View of the Irish Stage. Dublin, 1788—1794.

Hutchinson, Lucy, Mrs., Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson. 1906.

Jacob, Giles, The Poetical Register etc., with M. S. notes by Haslewood. 1723.

Jonson, Ben., Dramatic Works. 9 vols. 1816.

Leslie, Charles, Primitive Heresy revived in Quakers. 1698.

— The Present State of Quakerism in England. 1701.

Life of Mrs. Abington, Mrs. Cibber, and James Quin. London, 1887.
London Theatres. A Collection of Cuttings from Newspapers relating to the L. Th. Mus. Mark 321 b. 6 vols. June 1704—September 1775.
— A Collection of Playbills of London Theatres 1751—1809. Mus. Mark 1763 *a* 5.
— Another Collection of Cuttings from Newspapers 1779—1835. Mus, Mark N. R.
— Another Collection 1779—1835. Mus. Mark 1286 *h* 3.
Lowndes, W. Thomas, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. Edited by H. G. Bohn. 6 vols. London, 1857—1864.
Macaulay, Th. B., History of England. 1858—1861.
Mayne, Jasper, The City-Match. Comedy. 1639. In vol. 9 of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays.
Mears, W., A True and Exact Catalogue of all the Plays that were ever yet printed in the English Tongue etc., printed for W. Mears. London, editions 1713 and 1732.
Murray's English Dictionary. 1888 ff.
Oulton, W. Ch., The History of the Theatres of London. 2 vols. London, 1796.
O'Keefe, J., The Young Quaker. Comedy. Dublin, 1783.
The Playhouse Pocket-Companion, or Theatrical Vademecum. London, 1779.
Primitive Heresy, etc., by the author of 'The Snake in the Grass.' London 1698.
The Puritaine, or The Widow of the Watling Streete. com. 1607.
Quaker. The Character of a Quaker in his True and Proper Colours. 1671.
— The Character of a Quaker. London, 1704.
Randolph, Thomas, The Muses "Looking Glasse". Comedy, acted 1635, pr. 1638.
Scott, Walter, Essays. 1868.
Sewel, William, History of the Quakers. 2d editon. London, 1725.
Shadwell, Charles,
a) Plays published separately:
The Fair Quaker of Deal, or The Humours of the Navy. Comedy. London, editions 1710 and 1715.
The Fair Quaker, or the Humours of the Navy. Altered by E. Thompson. London, editions 1773 and 1775.
— in Bell's British Theatre, vol. 17, London 1777, and vol. 14, 1792.
The Humours of the Army. Comedy. London, 1713.
The Hasty Wedding, or the Intriguing Squire. Comedy. Dublin, 1717.
b) Collected Works.
The Works of Charles Shadwell. 2 vols. Dublin, editions 1720 and 1727.
Five New Plays. London, 1720 containing: The Hasty Wedding, or the Intriguing Squire, comedy; The Sham Prince, or News from Passau, comedy; Rotherick O'Connor, King of Connaught, or the Distress'd Princess, tragedy; The Plotting Lovers, or The Dismal Squire, farce; Irish Hospitality, or Virtue Rewarded, comedy.
Shadwell, Thomas, Dramatic Works. 4 vols. London, 1720.
— Edition with an introduction and notes by G. Saintsbury. Mermaid Series. London, 1903.
Spectator, edited by *H. Morley*. London 1888.

Index to the Spectators, Tatlers and Guardians. London 1760.
Tatler, edition with introduction and notes by *G. A. Aitken*. 1898—1899.
Theatrical Biography, or Memoirs of the Principal Performers of the 3 Theatres Royal. London 1772.
Thompson, A. H., A History of English Literature. London, 1906.
Thurmond, John, Harlequin Dr. Faustus, with the Masque of the Deities. London, 1724.
Traill and Mann, Social England. 6 vols. 1894—1896.
Vanbrugh, Sir John, Plays. Edited by Ward. 2 vols. London, 1893.
Victor, Benj., The History of the Theatres of London and Dublin. 3 vols. London, 1761—1771.
Walker, Thomas, The Quaker's Opera. London, 1728.
Ward, A. W., English Dramatic Literature. London, 1899.
Whincop, Thomas, A List of Dramatic Authors, added to his "Scanderbeg." London. 1747.
Wilkinson, Richard, Vice Reclaimed, or The Passionate Mistress. Comedy. London, 1703.
Wycherley, William, The Plays, edited by W. C. Ward, The Mermaid Series. London 1888.

NOTES ON SHADWELL'S LIFE AND PUBLICATIONS.

1. SHADWELL'S FAMILY.

Jacob (Giles), in his Poetical Register, London 1723, makes Charles Shadwell the nephew of Thomas Shadwell, poet laureate to King William III. Whincop (Thomas), in his List of Dramatic Authors, London 1747, makes him more nearly related to the laureate, asserting authoritatively that Charles was his younger son "and not his nephew as Mr. Jacob says by mistake." Later compilers have copied either Jacob or Whincop, both contemporaries of Shadwell, or quote each of them separately without throwing any more light on the question. There can be no doubt that it is Whincop's assertion which deserves more credit. In the prologue to the "Fair Quaker", edition 1715, we read the following lines:

> Under these terms of grace young Bayes has writ,
> With double title to be dubb'd a wit,
> First, cause poeta nascitur, non fit.
> From a famed stock our tender scyon grows,
> And may be laureat too himself, who knows?

In the dedication of his collected works, 1720, to Lady Newtown, he says:

> "Poetry is a Science [sic!] I do not, nor dare not, value myself upon; I may say with my Father: It was not a Harbour I chose, but a Rock I split upon."

Shadwell's forefathers were seated in Norfolk. John Shadwell, his grandfather, is said to have been a justice of

the peace for three counties and to have held the offices of Recorder of Galway and Receiver there to the Duke of York. That he was subsequently appointed to the office of Attorney-General at Tangier, Saintsbury takes for a sign of reverse in his fortunes.[1] It is asserted that he, being a stout Royalist, had lost much of his property in the Civil War.

The private fortune of Thomas—upon whose life and work there is no need to enter here—cannot at any time have been considerable, nor could the benefit from his plays, spread as they are over 24 years, have afforded him a competent living, and yet his widow, in her dedication to his unfinished piece "*The Volunteers*," declares that the best part of her sustenance and her family's was gone, when Shadwell ceased to write.

Charles was born in Middlesex, probably at Chelsea. The precise date is not known; it must have been later than 1671, this being the year of birth of his elder brother, Sir John Shadwell, a physician of repute. Their father Thomas died suddenly on the 19th November, 1692, and was buried at Chelsea. He left his property to his "diligent, careful, and provident" wife—herself an actress —commending to her the interests of his children, especially his daughter Anne, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Oldfield. Small wonder that Charles, thus brought into connection with the stage by his nearest kin, should have attempted to derive some benefit from dramatic work; it was too remunerative to be neglected.

Of his younger days there seems to have survived no reliable information. Captain Thompson, in his Address to the Reader,[2] prefixed to his alteration of Shadwell's "*Fair Quaker*," tells us as late as 1773 that "his father brought him up to the study of the law; but the dryness of the profession did not suit with his disposition; the muses were the alluring jilts he followed, and the company of

[1] See Saintsbury's Introduction to *Thomas Shadwell*, Mermaid Series.

[2] See p. 61.

the reigning wits he preferred to the technical discourses of the learned of the Inns of Court." This statement must be accepted with great reserve. It would, on the part of the author, suggest more poetical fire or faith in his calling than becomes evident from the above cited quotation[1] and the following lines of his epilogue to the "*Fair Quaker*":

> Friends, doth it please you that this trifle pass?
> Are you contented not to damn the ass?
> Or doth it to your wiser judgment seem
> More fit this leading folly to condemn,
> For fear of being charg'd with more of them?

We know from his own lips that he wrote for bread,[2] and are made clearly aware that, if matters did not pay, he would bid farewell to his muse. It must, besides, be noted that Captain Thompson is altogether badly informed, and that his account of Ch. Shadwell contains quite a number of errors.

2. HIS LONDON PLAYS.

The "*Fair Quaker of Deal*" our author acknowledges to be his first effort in poetry. Though written about 1707,[3] it did not come out earlier than February 1710, and was produced at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, where it drew a great deal of money.[4]

At the time he wrote this comedy the author was, according to Whincop, supervisor of the excise in Kent. To stand up arrogantly in defence of his play and be as insolent as the rest of the scribblers of the town he says he has no time, being called in haste to his duty in Por-

[1] p. 11; cp. also: . . . mine, if it is a muse . . . in the dedication of the *Fair Quaker*.

[2] Cp. p. 23.

[3] See p. 57.

[4] For the analysis of the com. see p. 27 ff.

tugal.[1] It was the time of the Spanish War of Succession. He was to serve under Major-General Newtown, Governor of Londonderry, to whose management the British forces were entrusted on their expedition into Spain, "at a dismal season, with a sick army and great scarcity of provision."[2]

The "humours" of his new surroundings are faithfully reflected in his next comedy "*The Humours of the Army*".[3] It saw its first night on the 29th January, 1713, and was acted six times. Revivals occurred in 1716[4] and on April 23rd, 26th, and 30th, in 1746.[5] The success it met with the author ascribes to the excellency of the performers; the cast, in fact, exhibits such a galaxy of actors as ever poet could have wished for a play. Mention may be made of Dogget, Cibber, Wilks, Booth, and among the women, of Mrs. Oldfield and Mrs. Mountford. To go about to justify the play Shadwell would find impertinent, "because a prodigious full third night and a very good sixth are prevailing arguments in its behalf."[6]

The scene of the comedy is laid in the camp near Elvas. Bisket, who supplies the army with bread and forage, and Major Young Fox are rival lovers. The former is tricked into an undesired marriage in the dark. Belvedera owes something to Th. Shadwell's "*Woman-Captain*". She follows Wilmot, whom, from female caprice, she had treated unkindly, to Portugal, where she is dressed as a man and obtains a lieutenant's commission. The lovers discover one another and are reconciled. Major Outside continues the

[1] See Preface to the *Fair Quaker*.

[2] Epistle Dedicatory to the *Humours of the Army*.

[3] Dibdin, in his *History of the Stage*, says by mistake that Shadwell has studied Dancourt in all his pieces and that the *Humours of the Army* are exactly *Les Curieux de Campagne* (Campagne mistaken for *Compiègne*).

[4] Victor, *History of Theatres*, II, 94; and Thos. Whincop, in *A List of Dramatic Authors and Plays*, 1747, the latter adding: with no applause.

[5] See Genest.

[6] Preface to *Humours of the Army*.

figure of the Irishman on the stage, where it had been introduced by Sir Howard and Th. Shadwell.[1]

3. IN DUBLIN.

Meanwhile the poet had got an appointment in the Revenue in Dublin. The precise date cannot be ascertained; it must have been at about the time of the accession of George I. This post he enjoyed till his death, which occurred in 1726.

In Dublin he wrote "*Five New Plays*"[2], viz.

1. "*The Hasty Wedding, or The Intriguing Squire*"; a comedy;
2. "*The Sham Prince, or News from Passau*"; a comedy;
3. "*Rotherick O'Connor, King of Connaught, or The Distress'd Princess;* a tragedy;
4. "*The Plotting Lovers, or The Dismal Squire*"; a farce;
5. "*Irish Hospitality, or Virtue Rewarded*"; a comedy.

Little can be established with regard to their chronology. "*The Hasty Wedding*" was published in 1717 in a separate volume; its prologue opens with this couplet:

> Encourag'd by your last Year's kind Applause,
> Our Poet once again submits his Cause.

In the epilogue to the same comedy the author says:

> Next Year I . . . .
> Perhaps in Tragic Strains may tread the Stage
> And in Heroicks show my Love and Rage,

which would assign "*Rotherick O'Connor*" to the following year, were it not for Colonel Allen's prologue—an original and not a later one to all appearance—and its allusion to Defoe's "*Robinson Crusoe*", first published in 1719. "*The Sham Prince*" may, with certainty, be set apart for 1719; a letter addressed to Sir William Cheatly is dated 1st April

[1] See Ward, *E. Dram. Lit.*, III, 458.

[2] Published in London 1720, bound together in one volume small octavo.

1719.[1] Again is it 1719 for which year at least one performance of "*Irish Hospitality*" can be set down. The prologue was "Spoken by Mr. Elrington before the Duke and Duchess of Bolton". The duke, duly complimented by Shadwell as the bringer of happy days, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1717. He was in Dublin for the opening of the Irish Parliament on the first of July, 1719.[2] The "*Five New Plays*" were all written and acted—with great applause the "Companion"[3] asserts—at Dublin from about 1710 to 1720. The fact that Charles Shadwell had most of his plays performed in Ireland may perhaps, Saintsbury suggests, have something to do with that attribution of Hibernian origin to Thomas himself, which is asserted by tradition to have been the thing he minded most in "*Mac Flecknoe*." Nor should it be forgotten, in relation to this, that his father is described as Recorder of an Irish town.[4]

Before Charles Shadwell very few plays, as he points out in his dedication to Lady Newtown, had been originally brought out in Dublin; his name must, accordingly, stand for something in the history of the Irish stage.

The theatre in Smock Alley was as yet the only one in Dublin. The unsettled state of the kingdom and the political disturbances of Cromwell's and James II.'s reign had kept its doors closed for years. It had reopened in 1692. Under the favourable auspices of J. Ashbury's (1638—1720) and Thomas Elrington's (1688—1732) management Shadwell had the good fortune to see his plays performed. The former was esteemed not only the best actor but the best teacher in the three kingdoms. Owing to his judgment in theatrical affairs and the excellence of his personal character the Irish stage rose to a degree of respectability which it had not hitherto expe-

[1] Act IV, 1.

[2] See Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

[3] The Companion to the Playhouse, an Historical Account of all the Dramatic Writers, etc., London 1764.

[4] Saintsbury's introd. to *Thos. Shadwell.*

rienced.[1] Elrington, when still in London, had taken the part of Cribbidge in the *"Fair Quaker";* in Dublin he acted in almost all of Shadwell's plays.

It is worth noticing that Shadwell hit upon a time of comparative decency and order in Smock Alley Theatre. Thus his own inclinations must have fallen in nicely with those of the managers and prepared for his plays the way to an honorable reception. After Ashbury and Elrington had passed away, few performers of any degree of eminence arose or resorted thither before the year 1740, and dramatic performances were sunk into contempt and almost wholly lost. The audience part of the theatre had become a bear-garden and the other a brothel.[2]

The author's conception of dramatic art, as manifested in his prologues and epilogues, fully reveals the moral bias of the 18th century. That the stage has a moral purpose to fulfil he does not fail to repeat, whenever he appears before the public with a new dramatic piece. His first prologue begins with these couplets:

> In early times, when plays were first in fashion,
> The bus'ness of the stage was reformation;
> The well-wrought scene, for public good design'd,
> With imitable virtue fill'd the mind,
> And lash'd the growing follies of mankind.
> That was its golden age . . . .[3]

and the last lines he put in print, the dedication of his collected works, contain the following passage:

"I have taken care to show Vice in such a manner as to make everybody abhor it, and have used all my stock of understanding to make Virtue shine out in full glory."

He invites the people of Dublin to take example by the Romans:

[1] Robert Hitchcock, *Hist. View of the Irish Stage;* Dublin, 1788.
[2] Victor, *Hist. of the Theatres of London and Dublin;* London 1761—71.
[3] Prol. to *Fair Quaker.*

In Great Augustus Cæsar's joyful Days,
When Rome and Romans flourish'd, so did Plays.
Mecænas [*sic*] then, the Fav'rite of the Court,
Encourag'd Wit, and paid the Poet for't [1].

Why should not, in Hibernia's capital as well, play and player be admired and the poet be the darling of mankind?

In lively Features Virtue was declar'd,
And Vice, in Gold or Rags, was never spar'd [2].

With this aim before him and in this spirit Shadwell will attempt to break the way for Ireland's muses.[3]

But his dramatic fare, though drawn from native Irish soil,[4] is not to everybody's taste. We find him lecturing in turn "the middle region", the pit, and "his friends two story high," for that they

. . . . seldom mind the Plot
And are not better'd by the Play one Jot [5].

At some other time he craves their forbearance asking them to consider

. . . . how hard it is to show
Things that will do Above, and please Below.
Pity that Poet, who pretends to try
To please your general Taste in Comedy [6].

Smock Alley theatre did badly for all its respectable management, and Shadwell's pecuniary reward cannot but have been poor, if we form our opinion by the following lines in the prologue to the *"Hasty Wedding"*:

So Cold, so Careless you to us appear,
Your Pictures please you every where but here.
Gallants can take their Bottle and their Wenches,
Whilst we are playing to our empty Benches.

[1] Prol. to *Ir. Hosp.* [2] ib. [3] ib.
[4] All of the *Five New Plays*, with the exception of the *Plotting Lovers*.
[5] See the epil. to *Ir. Hosp.* and *Roth. O'C.*
[6] Epil. to *Ir. Hosp.*

And Visiting and Ombre so intoxes,
The Ladies quite forget to fill our Boxes,
And empty is that Gallery and Lattice,
Where not one Vizard-Mask, nor one Coquet is,
This spacious City, were you not asleep,
Might one poor Poet and a Play house keep.
From this Day forth you're summon'd to appear,
That each may prop this falling Theatre.

With respect to Shadwell's Irish productions the apathy of the Dublin populace to theatrical entertainments would seem natural enough; they are, on the whole, poor plays. The well-worn apparatus of traditional stage invention which they exhibit, their artificiality of character and incident, taken from the theatre of a previous age rather than from real life, speak less against them than their utter lameness of dialogue and want of style. If the "*Fair Quaker*" is not free from these faults, it has at least the merit of natural '*humours*' and a busy and entertaining plot. The "Five New Plays" could not lay this claim to popularity either. A few remarks on each of them may be allowed to find place here.

4. THE FIVE NEW PLAYS.

The main facts of the plot of the "*Hasty Wedding*" are told on p. 75. It may here be added that the conclusion, as usual with Shadwell, is brought about quite mechanically. Townly, the poor, but in the end successful, lover of Aurelia receives a letter, one of the ten read in the course of the comedy, from which it appears that the first husband of Mrs. Friendless is still alive, and that her marriage with Sir Ambrose is invalid. Sir Ambrose is highly delighted. He gives his consent to his daughter's union with Townly, after Sir John Dareall, a pretended baronet and suitor to Aurelia, is recognised by his rival as Jack Ombre, a famous sharper and tat-monger. For his gamester the dramatist

may have found any number of prototypes in Restoration comedy. We need but turn to the works of Thomas Shadwell to find that in one and all of his comedies Charles has borrowed from his father's stock of situations and characters. In the "*Hasty Wedding*" the widow Friendless behaves towards Sir Ambrose as Phillis to Sir Humphry in the "*Woman-Captain.*" Her husband's supposed death und unexpected return may have been taken from "*The Humorists.*" Squire Daudle, who values himself much on his intrigues, which always miscarry, is a copy of Sir Samuel in the "*Virtuoso.*"

As is evident from the preface,[1] the "*Sham Prince*" related to a contemporary event, and was meant to expose an impostor, who had taken in many Dublin tradesmen, and imposed on several persons of superior sense and reputation. The French count in "*Bury Fair*" seems to have sat for Sir William Cheatly, a prince of Welldone's making as much as the other of Wildish's. Lady Homebred and her daughter Molly are put in a similar relation to Sir Bullet Airy as Aunt Loveyouth and her niece Theodosia to Raymond in "*The Humorists.*"

"*Irish Hospitality*" was revived at Drury Lane on March 15, 1766, but never repeated. Its scene lies at Mount Worthy in Fingall. Sir Patrick Worthy is a gentle-

[1] "This Play was written in Five Days, and by the Actors got up in Ten more. Every Body knows the Occasion of it, and how well the Town receiv'd it; therefore I hope Criticks will be favourable to it; for I have made no Alterations in it since its first Acting: So they may judge by the Reading, the Hurry I was in at the Writing of it. As the Design was to expose a publick Cheat, and to show the Folly of some Tradesmen, who were drawn in upon that Occasion, I took Care to do it so, that even the People, from whom I stole my Characters, could not take it ill, and came to see themselves represented. The PLAY, indeed, might have been much better, had I made Use of the Hints given me; but there were too many People of good Sense and Reputation concern'd, to be expos'd: So I turn'd that into a *Comedy*, which was a *Tragedy* to many. I think, indeed, the PRINCE himself is oblig'd to me for his Part: If I knew where to have sent to him, I would most certainly have dedicated the PLAY to him; for I really believe I was the only Man in *Dublin* that got Money by him; that is, by his going off."

man of a plentiful estate, who makes himself very popular by his hospitality. His son Charles wants to seduce Winifred, the daughter of one of Sir Patrick's tenants. To effect his purpose he makes her a promise of marriage, and has the ceremony performed by his servant, who afterwards acknowledges to Sir Patrick what he has done. The latter will marry Winifred himself. Charles declares his love for her, and his father readily consents to their union. An embroiled marriage-farce is performed in a dark parlour, where Lucy, the chambermaid, means to take in Sir Jowler Kennel, and where, at the same time, Lady Peevish has appointed Morose a meeting. For the stage-trick of a dark parlour as the scene of a mistaken marriage or rendez-vous we, again, need not go far. It can be found in Thos. Shadwell's "*Woman-Captain*" and "*Lancashire Witches*," or in Vanbrugh's "*Mistake*." Charles himself had already made use of it in the "*Humours of the Army*," where Bisket and Leonora are married in the dark. Of Sir Jowler we are reminded by Prig, and of Morose by Lump, in the "*True Widow*."

"*The Plotting Lovers*" is a translation from Molière's "*Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*," reduced to one act. The author says in the preface that "all the incidents and humours are taken in, and yet 'tis scarce full enough for a farce on our Stage." Genest remarks that it is not a new translation, but only the reduced translation of 1704.[1]

"*Rotherick O'Connor*" is Shadwell's only tragedy.[2] The subject is taken from Irish history at the time of Henry II., when the King of Leinster, on being expelled

[1] Vanbrugh's *Squire Trelooby*, written in collaboration with Congreve and Walsh.

[2] Sterling, the author of *The Rival Generals*, printed in 1722, congratulates himself in his dedication on having first awakened Irish Muse to Tragedy. The same assertion is repeated in some complimentary verses by Concanen, and in the epilogue; but *Rotherick O'Connor* was printed in 1720, and it had been previously acted. We must, therefore, conclude that the *Rival Generals* was brought out some years before it was printed. Genest: *Some account of the English Stage*, vol. X, 281.

from his dominions by the King of Connaught, had solicited and obtained the assistance of the English.

According to the reigning fashion the tragedy is written in blank-verse, the comedies are in prose, the prologues and epilogues in the rhyming decasyllabic couplet. All plays, including the "*Fair Quaker,*" are kept in subordination to the rule of the three unities.

5. DEDICATIONS AND PATRONS.

"Faith, the poets of this age are not so poor as those of the last," says Worthy's lieutenant in the "*Fair Quaker,*" "they have wit enough to write themselves into good places."

There can be no doubt that whether or no the age of William III. and Queen Anne was the golden age of English literature, it was a golden time for English men of letters. Charles II. and his court could admire without paying. Now, solid reward was bestowed on the writer in the form of lucrative posts. Literature offered its adepts almost certain fortune, and writing became the object of everybody able to manage a pen.

But to be author in those days meant to be a political ally and to plunge into the wildest party struggle. Thomas Shadwell had become poet laureate and historiographer royal for the sake of his value to the party. Charles shunned politics. Without any of his father's pugnacity in him he disclaimed all pretensions to satire.[1] The idea we must form of him is that of a timid and diffident nature, zealous for no party, and constantly afraid of offending. It grieves him—as well it may—that

> Now Wit and Satyr, spent in Pamphlet Wars,
> Labour each Hour to inflame our Party-jars;
> Forsake their ancient Mart, the comic Scene
> And raise our Mirth no more, but feed our Spleen.[2]

[1] Cp. Prologue to *Humours of the Army*.
[2] Ib.

His first play, the *"Fair Quaker"*, he dedicated to his "generous and obliging friends of the county of Kent." To fix upon any particular patron from among them he would think a general offence, because so many of them had a special claim to his gratitude for their peculiar favours. This choice of patron was as uncommon as it was unfortunate. Had Shadwell followed the custom among scribblers of every stamp and placed his signally successful play under the ægis of some illustrious personage, he might have secured to himself substantial reward[1] and a patron's favourable influence upon his literary reputation. For some time things went on smoothly; he was living well among his Kentish friends.[2] But there came a reverse. His removal to Dublin does not sound prosperous. In 1720 he speaks of a change of circumstances that had made him indulge "his scribbling vain" in order to help out a small income towards the support of his family.[3] He enlists himself among the unfortunate and distressed, and, as such, feels entitled to the pity and protection of Lady Newtown, to whom he dedicates his collected works.[4] *"The Fair Quaker,"* he had told his patronising friends of Kent, "drags not a sluggish and unwilling pace as timorous of its reception and the hardness of its fate, but pants for its native air, where it was brought forth with pleasure, and flies to the good treatment of your experienced hospitality." In Dublin he feels induced "to shelter his plays from the envy of the snarling criticks who dare not condemn what your Ladyship is pleased to patronize."

[1] Tickell tells us that no dedication offered to Halifax went without its reward. Colley Cibber, upon presenting George I with his *Nonjuror*, received £200, and Steel, for his dedication of *The Conscious Lovers* to the same prince, £500. Beljame: *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre 1660—1744*. Paris, 1897.

[2] See Dedication of the *Fair Quaker*.

[3] Dedication to Lady Newtown.

[4] With her husband, the major-general, Shadwell had served in Portugal; see p. 14.

The obligations he and his family lie under to her Ladyship he acknowledges to be a debt of many years standing. To her in a great measure he attributes the success of his plays on the Dublin stage.

With the year 1720 Shadwell's hitherto intense dramatic activity came to a sudden close, and one feels induced to ask what made him drop his pen so abruptly. There are no indications which would point to some trouble arising from one of his plays, although, at that time, barbarous stage riots were nothing very exceptional, and the Irish have always been noted for a greater love of confusion and riot than their English brethren on the other side of the Channel. Hitchcock observes that between 1710 and 1720 there was "no remarkable occurrence" with regard to the Dublin stage. It would probably lie nearer the truth to assume that the death of Ashbury in 1720 had something to do with it.[1] Ashbury, perhaps Shadwell's personal friend, may have used his influence on behalf of the dramatist so much that, after he was gone, our poet's dramatic services were no longer wanted at Smock Alley. The success of his first play, though good for his pocket, did Shadwell a bad turn in so far as it prevented him from appraising his dramatic abilities with justness. None of his subsequent productions had anything like the success of the *"Fair Quaker,"* and the whole series of them must have meant for their author one continued failure of expectations.

The produce of Shadwell's pen amounts to 5 comedies, one farce, and one tragedy. Two songs, a prologue to the play *"The Drummer,"*[2] and an epilogue to the Duchess of Bolton, the last time she came to the playhouse before leaving Ireland, are appended to his collected works.[3]

[1] See p. 16—17.

[2] Addison's *Drummer* was first acted 1715. I do not, however, know of any relation between the two authors.

[3] Egerton's *Theatrical Remembrancer*, London 1788, and later the *Biog. Dram.*, and W. C. Hazlitt, in his *Play Collector's Manual*, state that Mears, in

II. THE FAIR QUAKER OF DEAL.

1. EDITIONS.

The title-page of the first edition of the comedy reads as follows: "*The Fair Quaker of Deal*, or *The Humours of the Navy*." A Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. London, Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, Bernard Lintott at the Cross-Keys, between the Two Temple Gates, and Egbert Sanger at the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet-street. 1710. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

Besides the play this edition contains the author's Preface and Epistle Dedicatory; the prologue, epilogue, and *dramatis personae* are wanting. The copy extant at the British Museum is bound together in one volume, 4°, with the "*Humours of the Army*." A re-issue was printed in 1715 adding the missing parts. The cast is that of 1710, here set down as follows:—

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

Men.

Flip, the Commodore, a most illiterate Wappineer-Tar, hates the Gentlemen of the Navy, gets drunk with his Boats Crew, and values himself upon the brutish Management of the Navy . . . . . Mr. Leigh.

Mizen, a finical Sea-Fop, a mighty Reformer of the Navy, keeps a Visiting-day, and is Flip's opposite . . . . . Mr. Pack.

his catalogue, has put down a play by Charles Shadwell, called *The Conscientious Lovers*, which seems not to have been printed. In W. Mears' Catalogue, editions 1713 and 1732, this play is not mentioned; of Shadwell's plays Mears names only *The Fair Quaker of Deal* and *The Humours of the Army*. In the *Theatrical Records*, 1756, and *The Playhouse Pocket Companion*, 1779, *The Conscientious Lovers* figures among the anonymous pieces and is undated, the former adding that it was published in the 18th century. There are no grounds, in my opinion, for supposing Shadwell the author of it.

Worthy, a Captain of the Navy, a Gentleman of Honour, Sense and Reputation . . . . . Mr. Booth.
Roverwell, a Gentleman of Fortune, and true Lover of the Officers of the Navy . . . . . Mr. Powell.
Sir Charles Pleasant, Worthy's Lieutenant, a Man of Quality Mr. Bickerstaffe.
Cribbidge, Flip's Lieutenant, a brisk young Fellow . . . . Mr. Elrington.
Easy, a Lieutenant of Marines . . . . . Mr. Cary.
Indent, Flip's Purser . . . . . Mr. Knapp.
Scruple, a Corporation-Justice, a canting Hypocrite . . . . Mr. Freeman.

Mr. Norris, Cockswain and Sailors.

Women.

Arabella Zeal, bred a Churchwoman . . . . . Mrs. Bradshaw.
Dorcas Zeal, her Sister, bred a Quaker . . . . . Mrs. Santlow.
Belinda, a Woman of Fortune . . . . . Mrs. Moor.
Jenny Private, *Jiltup* . . . } Whores of the Town . . . . . { Mrs. Spillar. Mrs. Hunt.
Advocate, Belinda's Maid . . . . . Mrs. Finch.
Maid to Arabella . . . . . Mrs. Shirburn.
Barmaid . . . . . Mrs. Cax.

Scene: Deal. *Time:* Five Hours.

The author's collected works were published in Dublin, in two volumes, dated 1720. Prologue, epilogue, and *dramatis personae* to the "*Fair Quaker*" are again wanting. In 1773 the comedy appeared in London as "*The Fair Quaker*, or *The Humours of the Navy*." Formerly written by Mr. Charles Shadwell, and now altered with great additions and a new character, by the author," *i. e.* Captain Edward Thompson; it is addressed to Mr. Garrick, and provided with a new "Address to the Reader."[1] A reprint of this version came out two years later. Bell includes the play in his "British Theatre," editions 1771 and 1792, the publication of 1792 with Shadwell's text, but the *dramatis personae* of the revised edition.

[1] See also p. 61, f.

2. ANALYSIS.

a) Plot and structure of the play.[1]

It was no uncommon thing with Restoration writers to head their play with a double title according to the double plot or other ingredients of which their comedies consisted. In Shadwell's *"Fair Quaker of Deal, or The Humours of the Navy"* the title and subtitle indicate the two component parts into which the play clearly divides itself, viz. the plot and the representation of naval humours. As in this comedy to describe the plot does not mean to describe the characters, there being little or no connection between the two, it may not be deemed inexpedient to consider one in succession to the other.

Act I.

Sc. I—II. Captain Worthy having entered from on board and given orders to his cockswain about fresh provisions, is welcomed on shore by his friend Rovewell, to whom he relates some of his adventures during their last cruise to Virginia. He complains of having been confined to the nauseous conversation of his fellow captains Mizen and Flip; in return he is given an account of the rottenness of the sea-port Deal, where the Virginia fleet has just landed, and assured of the constancy of his lady love Dorcas Zeal, the fair Quakeress. Rovewell himself is in love with Belinda, Dorcas's friend.

Sc. III—V. The two gentlemen are then joined by Flip. Addressed as "most noble commodore" he catches at the word 'noble,' and bursts out into a volley of abuse against so-called gentlemen-captains, in particular against Mizen, his antagonist in point of etiquette. Representative of two classes of naval gentlemen Flip, the nasty brute, and Mizen,

[1] The comedy is divided into acts; a division into scenes is attempted but not carried through in any edition. The numbering of the scenes, which I thought necessary for the sake of reference, is my own.

the foppish beau, are now brought together in a quarrelling scene. Their respective humours, as foreshadowed in Worthy's report, are displayed, and a strong contrast is worked out. After Flip has made his exit Mizen, with Rovewell and Worthy still serving as interlocutors, expounds his plan for reforming the navy into a body of fine, well-dressed gentlemen.

Until we come to the denouement, the two captains are not seen again on the stage together. These last 3 scenes are exclusively devoted to their characterisation, and are the most important in this respect. What follows does not add anything new to our idea of their character.

Sc. VI. Worthy receives a billet-doux from his sweetheart. Ignorant of her name, but anxious to show that he is not behind-hand with his comrade, Mizen blurts out his design on a rich Quaker, a "ten thousand pounder". An intimate acquaintance of his—Justice Scruple as we are told later on—has promised him his assistance in stealing her. He will "carry her on board, marry her, lie with her, then come ashore and demand her fortune", and after that, if he does not like her, "'tis but heaving her out at the cabin window, and give out she had a calenture, and so jump'd overboard." [1] In the object of this design Rovewell and Worthy easily recognise the fair Quaker. Mizen makes his exit, leaving them free to concert a counter-plot. Rovewell's idea is to palm off on him for a wife Jenny Private, a well-known punk of the town, disguised as Dorcas Zeal. Worthy will not fail to inform his "dear charmer" of Mizen's plan and make her a confident in their plot against him. Thanks to the trick of coincidence the intrigue concerned with Mizen has been put on foot in the turn of a hand, and Rovewell's stratagem works out into a series of ludicrous equivoke scenes.

Sc. VII—X put before us the two sisters Dorcas and Arabella in their contest for Worthy. The development of

[1] The spelling used in quotations is that of Bell's *British Theatre*, ed. 1792.

their antagonism, illustrative, by the way, of the author's sense for variation of dialogue, is carried on in colloquies changing between

Dorcas and Arabella,
Dorcas, Arabella, and Worthy,
Arabella and Worthy,
Dorcas and Worthy.

Our interest in the fair Quakeress has already been aroused in sc. I and VI. She is now introduced with her rival sister, who, nourishing a secret love for the same man, tries to dissuade her from further endeavours to gain Worthy's love by arguing their difference of creed. To be sure, he will but laugh at her senseless religion and formal hood. Dorcas answers in the saintly jargon of her sect: "My religion and dress," she says, "may seem strange unto thee, because thou art of the church belonging to the wicked: but I tell unto thee, Worthy loveth me so much, that I have hopes of drawing him to be one of the pure ones." When Arabella comes to see that all her religious scruples are thrown away upon her sister, she attempts to dispirit her by openly declaring her rivalship.

Dorcas is still undismayed when Worthy enters, confirming his love of her with a passionate embrace. Arabella does not hesitate to set his affection in the worst light: "Ay, wheedle her out of what she has: get her money, then use her like a wife, turn her out of doors, and compound with her for a maintenance." This is too keen spite to go unheeded. To prevent her sister from doing further mischief Dorcas immediately commits herself into Worthy's hands. But Arabella is equal to the occasion. With superior mockery she tells Worthy that she has done the work for him, "made the flesh and the spirit unite, and joined an unsanctified brother of the wicked to a sanctified sister of the godly ones." And turning to the Quaker she continues indignantly: "With all thy boasted sanctity, to own before

my face a carnal inclination! . . . Out on thee! I am ashamed of thee."

Beaten with her own weapons, Dorcas retires in confusion, and Arabella is now free to disclose her heart to the captain. The latter, however, is proof against her charms, and he leaves her, slighted, to her meditations of revenge.

Arabella is gone when Worthy enters again with his lady-love, revealing to her what had passed between him and her sister. He further informs her of Mizen's adventurous design, and asks her to meet him about two hours hence at Belinda's.

Act I thus divides itself into two nearly equal halves; scenes I—V are given up to the portrayal of naval humours with Flip and Mizen as main representatives, scenes VI—X, while introducing Dorcas and Arabella, the leading figures among the women, to the laying down of the initial lines of plot. Dorcas stands between two men, Worthy between two women, a common configuration. From this double relation branch out two plots of the comedy, which, accordind to the principal actors in them, will be referred to as the Mizen-plot and the Arabella-plot.

The closing, eleventh, scene of the first act looks somewhat out of connection in its place. It has been transferred to the second act in Thompson's version,[1] where it falls better into line with respect to its inner arrangement.

A sailor has come to invite Flip's cockswain to join in the crew's carousal on board ship. Though well aware of the evil consequences attendant upon such occasions, he allows himself to be persuaded, and the two go off at a run.

Act II.

The subject of the "humours" is further drawn out in the second act. It is the "subs" we are now made acquainted with. Sir Charles Pleasant, Lieutenant Cribbidge, and Lieutenant Easy afford us some idea of their mental

[1] See p. 61.

horizon by filling up a lengthy first scene with their conversation; it turns on the merits and demerits of their respective superiors, the marines, some scandal about Indent, their purser, bawdry and matrimony, the punch-bowl, and the poet. An invitation to the bar at Daniel's is readily accepted.

We follow the gentlemen to the tavern where, at intervals, Sir Charles and Cribbidge, Mizen, Rovewell and Worthy, are seen entering. Their flirtations with the bar-maid Nanny, individually varied, furnish material for three short, amusing scenes, III—V, contributing not a little to our knowledge of the several characters.

The next two scenes, VI and VII, are concerned with the women. Belinda cannot help asking her maid for news about her lover, yet endeavours to hide her inclination behind some strong abuse of marriage and men. She then receives Dorcas, her Quaker friend, who breaks the news to her that she and Worthy have plighted troths. There follows the jest about the flesh having got the better of the spirit. Dorcas, of match-making as well as religious zeal, insists on Belinda's marriage with Rovewell, and is so far successful as to make her admit: "I don't know but one time or another, when I am in a very magotty humour, I may marry the creature." The scene closes with Advocate soliloquising on this marriage affair. Since Rovewell pays her well, she will tease and wheedle in his behalf, hoping that, if he gets her, he will make her a modern husband. "It shows a wonderful folly in mankind, she continues, to whine and snivel after these coy peevish things. Bless me! if they knew the way into a lady's heart so well as I do, there would be no sighing and ogling, no presents or serenading, no dying at a lady's feet: let them take the shortest way with the dissenters, and the business is done."

Resuming the bar episode, scene IX exhibits all the gentlemen gathered round a bowl of Amy's punch, their

conversation being ruled over by Mizen and his all absorbing topic, the creation of a polite navy.

At this moment an important line in the advance of the plot is set in. The development of the intrigue is greatly retarded in this act, all its scenes so far touched upon serving merely the characterisation of the *dramatis personae* occurring therein. Two small fragments of plot, which may be ranged as scenes II and VIII, having brought before us Rovewell telling Worthy that he has engaged Jenny Private and invited Mizen to the "India Arms," where Jenny is to write him, and afterwards the jilt herself, "equipt like one of the righteous" and overjoyed at the intrigue, handing a letter to a sailor-messenger as instructed by Rovewell, this letter is now, in scene X, delivered to the captain, while he is sitting behind the punch bowl. Artfully referring to a piece of information she had from Mizen's friend,[1] the writer declares her love for the captain with that plainness "as becometh a sister of that congregation that hateth ceremonies." He is told that she saw him at his landing, is warned of Worthy's rivalry, and appointed a meeting near Deal Castle.

After reading the letter, Mizen continues the aside, feasting his imagination upon Worthy's eventual discomfiture and glorying in being a sweet beau: "What a refined creature is a sweet beau, to a homely coarse tar; to carry off the prize at one single attack, which that dull rogue has been laying a whole year's siege to?" Turning towards the rest, he makes sport of his rival and drinks to his mistress's health saying: "Well, old boy, when the consummation-day comes with thy sanctified bride, I'll make one at throwing the profane stocking." Worthy takes care to keep up his illusion, and Mizen, feeling "forced to borrow himself from their company," presently makes his exit.

[1] See p. 28.

Sc. XI. After all have been made acquainted with the plot, Indent, seeing the baiting of the fool succeed so well, expresses the wish to have a similar trick "clapped" on their brute of a commodore. Rovewell, the wirepuller of the whole show, has just such another blind bargain for him too. The idea of marrying these two coxcombs is good laughing matter for the company. It may provoke them to hang themselves, which would be a meritorious service to the navy. There would be vacancies for the young fellows and commissions to wet.

The purser wants to pay for the now empty bowl. On this occasion all the roguery implied by what he calls "the common perquisites allowed to all pursers" is brought to light, and a formidable list of villainies committed in the navy is advanced. Before the act drop comes down, Rovewell takes Cribbidge aside in a private whisper to engage him in the newly-hatched intrigue.

In point of plot the second act is by far the weakest. Of the three leading figures Mizen alone makes his appearance. A situation of powerful equivoke is led up to by scene x, and an important moment in the Mizen-intrigue anticipated. Whatever there is of interest in the rest, attaches to the description of the naval *milieu;* it is borne up by the reality of the characters; their dialogue comes from them with appropriateness, and expresses the humours of their class.

Act III.

The first scene of the third act may be considered the climax in the farcical love interest concerned with Mizen. It brings before us the rendez-vous between the captain and his supposed ten thousand pounder, Jenny Private, disguised as Dorcas Zeal. As it is on this kind of broad situation that the comedy depends for its humour, I venture to subjoin part of the scene for illustration.

Enter *Mizen*.

Mizen. So, that must be my Quaker, by her sanctified air——Madam, madam——

Jenny. Would you ought with me, friend?

Mizen. Only to desire the favour of you to give me leave to throw myself at your feet. My name is Mizen; I came hither by appointment from your fair hands—She is very beautiful! board me else. [*Aside*.]

Jenny. If thy sincerity is answerable to the character my friend has given me of thee, I am content, according to his desire, to be thy helpmate.

Mizen. Well, old Scruple is a prevailing rogue, and deserves the fifty guineas, pos. [*Aside*.] Oh, my charmer! I have been long sighing and wishing for this opportunity, and hope you'll now give me leave to make the best of my time.

Jenny. Will you change your vain religion then? Will you stand fast to the faith? In perseverance, will you come over to the congregation of the upright? Will you put off these gaudy clothes, those vanity of vanities?

Mizen. Yea, verily, I will put off my gaudiness; I will strip myself to the nakedness of the spirit.

Jenny. Why, then thou hast overcome me; and verily I will be thine in a few months.

Mizen. Oh, thou lovely lamb, set not so terrible a time! the spirit moveth me to make thee flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone, before the sun shineth again.

Jenny. I have some fears upon me, that thy eagerness to my person, may proceed from a desire thou hast to my money.

Mizen. Why, I say thy fears are uncharitable; for hadst thou nothing, nor that neither, my zeal would be as much for thee as it is now.

Jenny. Then, I am satisfied; and, accordingly, here is my hand.

Triumphantly hugging her, Mizen then takes her on board his ship, where his chaplain will link them together and make her his lawful spouse.

There is equivoke of language no less than of situation. To hear a common strumpet and a rakish sea-captain talking love to one another in saintly cant must have been relished for its piquancy by an audience such as we connect with the age of Queen Anne and the Georges.

With this scene Mizen is dismissed until the denouement at the end of the last act. In the meantime his *rôle* is taken up by Flip, and the same intrigue, having sprung this time from the idle whim of some boon-companions, as seen in II, XI, played over again in a new variation.

Sc. II. Rovewell, Worthy, and Sir Charles Pleasant, have seen Mizen swallow the gudgeon and go on board his ship with Jenny. This, they expect, will put such a damp upon his undertakings that they will be troubled no more with his nonsensical whimsies about reforming the navy. Now that they are all of them in love and desirous of marriage, they unanimously proclaim their resolution to bid adieu to immorality, and wish all their "quondam friends," who in their sinful days had been very obliging to them, as well provided for as Jenny. Sir Charles has not yet succeeded in his amour with Arabella, but his fellow-officers will do their best for him to make up the match. "A wife," says Rovewell, "is a pretty plaything in time of peace, which, if some care is not taken, these victorious generals of ours will bring it to." The company thereupon repair to Belinda's.

Sc. III. Cribbidge, Easy, and Jiltup, are making ready to draw Flip into the noose. Having successfully performed in the same capacity at Mizen's marriage,[1] Cribbidge will again take it on him to act the priest's part.[2] On being informed of Jenny's good luck, Jiltup calls forth some grossly indecent discourse on the jilt's "trade."

In scenes IV and V Justice Scruple, Arabella, and her maid relieve the talk of the sailors' quarter by language of a more decent character. Such instances of studied alternation in the conduct of dialogue are observable especially in the first three acts, where *milieu*-scenes—on the whole the men's—interchange with the ladies'.

Scruple has come to win Dorcas for Captain Mizen, but finding her gone, thinks Arabella might do his business as well. She meets him with a blunt rebuff, and tells him he had better keep him for her sister. Sorry for the loss of the 500 guineas Mizen had promised him, he will yet

[1] See Act V, VI.

[2] Such tricks had actually been carried out at the time of Charles II; see Beljame, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre*, p. 9.

take her in the morning fasting, which he believes to be the best time to try a woman's inclinations. According to Arabella's words Scruple seems to be a gentleman of the black cloth. When he is gone, she gives vent to her indignation by calling him a "psalm-singing match-maker, worse than your irreligious bawds; for the latter only betray our maidenheads and our reputations, when these religious rogues are for betraying our fortunes, our freedoms, our pleasures, our everything." She then dispatches two forged letters to her sister, hoping for success on the ground of Dorcas's religious zeal and the plausibility of her story.

Flip is not seen on the stage in the second, Mizen in the fourth act. In the third the author gathers up all the threads of the now treble plot, and by introducing the two captains and Arabella gives the central act its necessarily strong position in the structure of the comedy.

VI—VIII, the final scenes of the act, are, perhaps, the most striking in the naval *tableau*. The curtain rises over a drinking bout, where Flip is seen in company with his cockswain and six sailors. As a body the latter are here for the first and only time put before us. Their cruel treatment at the hand of the commodore, their own savagery, when, a drunken rabble, they rush off the scene, bent on mischief, form an episode of revolting brutality. In the course of it Flip is taken aside by Indent, who has come to wheedle him into marriage with Jiltup. He prevails upon him "to venture an engagement with this virgin frigate," and takes him off.

Mere *milieu-* or character-scenes[1] come to an end with the third act.[2] With regard to their relation to the plot this much can be said that each of the two captains is shown in his peculiar "humour" before being tricked;

[1] Act I, III—V, XI; II, I, III—V, IX XI; III, VI, VIII.

[2] They have here been dwelt upon only with regard to the composition of the play; for the rest see p. 46 ff.

he is first exposed as a fool, and we are ready to see him imposed upon. That they are laid in the first acts helps the graduation of interest in so far as it leaves the last two acts free for a quickened pace of the plot.

Act IV.

Sc. I. Rovewell's courtship to Belinda, a subordinate love-interest, already referred to in I, II, and II, VI, VII, is now being further developed. The scene is characteristic of Shadwell's "art" in expressing love. Snappishly asked if he had any pretensions to her, Rovewell's answer is: "Yes, I have, vain woman: if two years constant courtship, with an awful respect and adoration paid to you; if oaths, if vows, if sighs and tender expressions can give a man pretensions, I can justly claim them." These pretensions of his are seconded by all present. Dorcas, to whom Belinda has spoken her mind, knows that all of her friend's impertinences towards her lover are mere make-believe; she threatens to disclose what had passed between them, if she persists in dissembling. Sir Charles, in his turn, tries to cow her into compliance. "I would, at this usage," he says, "marry your chambermaid, that she might take place of you: I'd ridicule you in all companies, quarrel with, and cut the throat of any body that pretended courtship to you, and would make you die a maid in spite of your teeth." Worthy, too, rebukes her for letting her vain folly get the better of her sense and reason. Thus driven into straits, Belinda at length avows her inclination and asks forgiveness of her lover. Worthy then proposes to invite hither Mizen, the commodore, and their sham wives, to raise them to the height of mirth, and discover the plot.

Sc. II. At this juncture Arabella's letters, on the effect of which we have been left speculating in III, V, come to hand. One is addressed to Dorcas and another enclosed to Worthy, both being signed "Elizabeth Worthy." The writer informs Dorcas, in the first letter, that she is the

215011

captain's wife, and has two children by him, and, in the second, threatens Worthy with revenge. There is consternation all round. Dorcas falls into fainting fits, and is carried into an adjoining room, assisted by Belinda. Worthy works himself into a rage.

Sc. III. For a moment we are left in suspense as to the turn things will take. But Rovewell is of the company. At first thinking of a case of poisoning by letter, he now picks the papers up, and on reading them together with Sir Charles recognises Arabella's handwriting. They poke fun at crestfallen Worthy, and then make him see whose hand it is. Belinda re-enters informing the rest that Dorcas is in a slumber and must, for the present, be left undisturbed. Worthy, still dejected, has got to stand some more teasing, the best hit of it probably being: "In short, he looks as if he were married", while Rovewell and his lady argue their respective attitude in case such an imputation should be brought forward against either of them. The cheap stage-device of a letter is then again used to keep the plot going. Belinda will write Arabella of the passion she has put Worthy into, the fainting condition poor Dorcas lies in, praise her for her well invented stratagem, and let her know that Sir Charles is with them. In love with Arabella the prospects of the latter seem gloomy enough. Belinda, however, has heard her say abundance of handsome things of him; she likes the word "quality" much, and would not care if, on any terms, she could be called "her ladyship." To divert the lovers' melancholy whimsies the party go to cards.

In scene IV and V we have the Flip-story at its high-water mark. He enters drunk with Jiltup, his 'little hussy', to whom all the women in the town look like swabs, and Indent. This is the moment for Cribbidge to appear in a priest's habit and—should occasion permit—to perform the marriage ceremony. He contrives to scare Flip into immediate marriage by holding out to Jiltup some fictitious

chance of a splendid match with a parishioner of his. But let the dialogue continue, as, in this scene, Flip is shown at his best, and the author's language in its most original colour. The captain intervenes:

Flip. Heark'e, sir, none of your match-making stories here; this lady is disposed of, and her inclinations are moor'd to my affections; and he that claps her aboard, must expect to be raked fore and aft with my partridge double and round.

Crib. Sir, I beg your pardon; if you are the lady's husband I have done, sir.

Flip. Look'e, sir, I am not at present the lady's husband, but if you understand that part of your trade, and will splice us together, I have a couple of guineas at your service.

Crib. Sir, if all parties are consenting, I shall not be a great while performing that ceremony.

Flip. Why all parties are consented, Reverendissimo.

Crib. Sir, if I have that from the lady's mouth, and you can get her a father to give her away, I shall proceed.

Flip. Oh, as to a father, here's the purser shall stand that part of the story. Tell him, my dear, how you love and adore me.

Jilt. I must say I have an unalterable affection for the Commodore; but if I should marry him, and he should not love me after it, I should be the miserablest creature nature ever form'd.

Flip. Not love you, my dear! why I'll stick as close to you as carv'd work to a ship's stern; nothing shall be done by me without thy consent; you shall have the working of my vessel, and stand at the helm in all weathers.

The scene goes on in this strain for another page. Flip then asks "Mr. Homily" to do his office and "belay their affair." To be more private they march away into the next room. "I am all over storeship and transport with thy dear person," he says to the jilt; "come, I'll give you a tow, you are my prize now."

The commodore's part in the farce is thus unwound through acts II—IV as Mizen's through I—III. Repetition of the same *motif* calls for parallel situations. In I, VI and II, XI the scheme against the fool—Mizen and Flip respectively—is set on foot; in II, II and VIII, and III, III, the jilt is won for the cause, and found ready to do her work conjointly with her accomplices; in II, X Mizen is cozened into a rendez-vous by Jenny's letter, and Flip in III, VII by Indent's intervention, the captain being each time taken

away from a drinking party. In III, I and IV, V, scenes on which fall two of the strongest situations, the trick is successfully carried out.

Act V.

The last act forms one rattling continuation of busy and exhilarating plot. Its first three scenes Arabella has all to herself.

Sc. I—II. Informed by Belinda that her letters have done execution, she prepares to play her last card and appears, dressed like a Quaker, in men's clothes at Belinda's house, where the whole of the 5th act is laid. Meanwhile Dorcas has—very conveniently—been kept sleeping, until Arabella is admitted into her presence, delivering another letter in which, as we know from III, V, she has counterfeited her brother's hand. Left in privacy with the sham Quaker, Dorcas reads as follows:

"BELOVED SISTER,

"The bearer hereof, being the son of Ananias, who was an upright member of the cause, I recommend unto thee for a help-mate. He hath two thousand pounds a year, and stiffly adherent to our ways of going; and I send him to thee in good season, that thou may'st be delivered from the wicked designs of the seducing married man Worthy. Thine, in truth and sincerity.

SHADRACH ZEAL."

Selected by "his" friend and her good brother "he" has come to greet her with a holy kiss and declare "his" love to her. The suddenness of this love is too strong not to excite suspicions even in naive Dorcas. "Brother Ananias" smoothly explains them away: "He" saw her at the last general assembly of the faithful in London, saw—and loved at first sight, —but checked the moving spirit within, thinking that with "his" green years "he" was too young to lead a sister. But now they must not lose the precious time in foolish courtship like the vain babbling worldly ones; "let me," "he" asks, "forthwith wriggle myself into thy inward affections." Dorcas considers this a blest occasion to be revenged on ungrateful Worthy, and accepts "Ananias" as her chosen

yoke-mate with: "Yea, I do take thee, and like a back-slider who repenteth, I will, with pure zeal and fervency, turn unto thee."

With this the Arabella-plot has—last of all—reached its point of culmination, quakerish dress and language being a second time used for disguise. III, I, IV, V, and V, II may be put on a level, three farcical love-scenes, where the leading figures are shown off, one by one, in situations of powerful equivoke. Their respective parts in the plot of the comedy are independent of one another, and developed so as to overlap each other by one act, securing to III, IV, and V each at least one strong situation. In the 5th act they are all carried to their denouement, the Arabella-plot first.

Sc. III. Worthy, Rovewell, Sir Charles, and Belinda make their—to "brother Ananias" very mistimed—entrance. "He" is now confronted with the arduous task of winning Dorcas over again in the teeth of all this company, and indeed, "he" at once sets about to assert "his husband's" rights with excellent "cheek." On explanations being offered, "he" warns Dorcas not to listen to their "vile deluding tongue." Dorcas rejects Worthy, and tells him to be gone to his wife and children, owning herself the wife of the young Quaker in her presence. The latter is naturally anxious to get away with her, and but for Sir Charles, who lays hold of "him," might have succeeded. In struggling "his" hat and wig fall off, and the fair Quaker's "holy brother in the spirit" turns out "an arrant sister in the flesh."[1] The first shock of surprise over, Dorcas is reconciled to the captain. She will forgive her malicious sister, but insists on her surrender to Sir Charles. Arabella retires, confounded, followed by her lover, who will not release her but on very advantageous terms to himself.

[1] In the ed. 1715 of the *Fair Quaker* this situation is represented in an engraving.

Sc. IV and V bring the Mizen- and Flip-plots to their climax. Worthy and Dorcas are on the stage when Flip enters, "pulling in Mizen," (according to the stage direction), "who holds Jenny Private in his other hand, dressed like a Quaker, exactly like Dorcas." While this procession is moving on to the stage, Flip encourages his brother-tar: "Come forwards with thy fair spouse, as thou hast snapt this rich galleon, and got the ten thousand pound cargo, never be ashamed of thy good fortune, but bear up full sail to him, and lay him athwart with her." This Mizen does, but his moments of nuptial happiness come to a speedy and dire end. A few explanatory words between the real and the sham Quaker, and the truth comes out. Jenny confesses to have borrowed the name of Dorcas Zeal, and on further examination is found to be "a walking night-bird," brought up in London, "about Drury Lane wards." The comical effect of Mizen's pusillanimous rage is heightened by Flip's raillery, himself unaware of being caught in the same trap. He felicitates Mizen on his ten thousand pound Quaker, condemns his hard words to her, and alludes to his china of which he has smashed £40 worth, saying that with the rest of it his doxy will so sweetly set off his cabin. Now *he* has married a girl! A plain country pinnace with neither paint nor patch. She just happens to be back from the milliner's and sempstress's, where she was put in a little more modish rigging for the she-mate of a commodore, and presently is being made welcome by the company, Flip receiving her with: "Oh, my sweet spouse!" On seeing Jenny, she goes to embrace her, calling her "sweet cousin." "Though a commodore's lady," she says turning to her husband, "I must not grow proud and forget my old friends and acquaintance. The young lady and I were bred up play-fellows together." In answer to Flip's questions she tells him with all possible plainness what sort of woman she is, and, like Jenny, glories that her evil days are over with

her. It is now the commodore's turn to exhibit himself in one of those ludicrous distresses as fools will ever be involved in. "Take a succubus!" he cries fuming, "—diseases, poxes, leprosy! Oh, fool! sot! dotard! lunatic!—Death! I'll run mad; turn the muzzle of a gun down in the powder-room and blow myself up to the devil!" Worthy will untie the marriage knots on condition that the captains should take the two women off their lewd lives and settle a pension for life upon them. When this is done he discovers the whole plot, which he says he invented not to ruin but to reform them, and all evil-doers promise to mend their ways. After every trick is played off and all the buffoonery exhausted, there is a sudden effusion of good sense and virtue; in the last act, no less than six persons make a formal vow of improvement.[1]

b) The Moral Tone of the Comedy.

With relation to this method of concluding a play a few words may be said here on the moral tone of the comedy and Collier's possible influence upon it. The publication of his *"Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage"* marks an event which no investigation of contemporary drama can pass by unnoticed. Ward[2] observes on this head that from this time forward a marked change became visible both in the attitude of Court, Government, and of a section at least of the ruling classes, towards the stage. The comic poets now began with uneasy hilarity to allude in their prologues to the reformation which had come over the spirit of the town, and writers like Mrs. Centlivre became very anxious to reclaim their sinners with much emphasis in the fifth act.

Shadwell himself refers to this change in various places, as in the following words of the prologue:

[1] The play winds up with a country dance and a sailors' dance. Rhyming couplets are inserted in, or at the end of, II, I, VIII, XI, V, V, VI.

[2] Ward, *Engl. Dram. Lit.*, vol. III, p. 514 f.

The Muse flew downwards, till she gave offence;
For as our sage inquisitors do tell us,
Her finest parts were jilts and rakish fellows;
And as corrupters of this harmless town,
We were presented, and almost put down.
How would your useless time, 'twixt five and eight,
Have dragg'd its wings without this lov'd retreat?
Etc.

Speaking of the jilts Worthy is made to say in I, IV: "The new reformation wind blows so high, that every weather-beaten vessel cann't live in't." From these quotations it does not appear that Shadwell bowed his knee in obedience to Collier; he replied to him in his own manner and went his way as did the rest of the poets. The *"Fair Quaker"* contains any number of those offences with which Collier reproaches the dramatists. Nor is there any great reason to believe in a noticeable change of manners on the side of the public, if judged from the popularity of the *"Fair Quaker"* and other plays then in vogue. The impression one forms of Shadwell is that in spite of Collier and his own virtuous inclinations, with which he may fairly be credited, he wrote down to his audience. He bids them, in the prologue, to be merry of heart, since

You're pleased to relish best our lowest parts;
Give you but humour, tickle but your spleen,
No matter how we furnish plot or scene.

His digressions into virtue do not, at any rate, save the tone of the play, which is grossly indecent. In opposition to the general assumption of an immediate and far-reaching influence of Collier's attack the *"Cambridge History of English Literature"* states that the new plays were of no other fashion than the old. It justly puts the *"Fair Quaker"* on the same level with the comedies of Mrs. Centlivre, Fielding, and other contemporaries as affording no evidence of a chastened spirit. Collier's attempt

to reform actors and poets was the sport of what wit they had in their plays, prologues, and epilogues.[1]

A distinctive feature of Shadwell's moral tone as compared with that of the average Restoration writer may be seen therein that he does not make vice attractive; this not on account of any restraint from without, but for the simple reason that it was out of his power to give it the varnish of elegance. Because his indecency is frank and outspoken, he almost succeeds in being wholesome. He was not in want of the admonitions of a Collier, but of the subtler teaching of his contemporaries Addison and Steele. No writer could better be singled out to exemplify the appropriateness of the "Spectator's" work, the need to be shown a way to refinement in matters of taste and to becoming virtuous with a good grace, than Charles Shadwell.

There is another reason which must have commended itself to the dramatist, when he allowed his characters to indulge in a last-act conversion. The method was serviceable to him in escaping from dramatic complications[2] and in finding a conclusion to his play. In the *"Fair Quaker"* the intrigue against Mizen was started to put him, an unwelcome rival, on the wrong scent; against the commodore, out of revenge for his brutality; against both, for the purpose of the others' diversion. "Nothing," says Cribbidge in II, XI, "diverts so much as using a coxcomb according to his deserts." To break off after the discovery of the plot by Worthy would have left the comedy unfinished. Therefore, the marriage-trick is now suddenly turned into a means of reform, and without having any relation to the captains' respective perversities is credited with impossible moral results, while sermonising Worthy claims for himself, though wrongly, the honour of being the head-matchmaker and -reformer. When Mizen knows that he has been victimised,

[1] The Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit., vol. VIII, p. 163 f.

[2] Ward, vol. III, p. 515.

he addresses Worthy like this: "Ay, noble Worthy, I own myself a villain and the hand of heaven has reached me for it;" and later on, after his purse has been made to smart: "Nay, dear Worthy, take one new convert more, for from this hour I'll play the effeminate fool no more, but bear the face of a man like thee, strip my fop-cabin of all my china-baubles, toys for girls, and show myself a true hero for my glorious queen." Old Flip will, henceforward, keep such honest fellows as Worthy company, cast off his old, dull, rascally conversation, and learn good sense and manners. The jilts are resolved to change their course of life and live honestly for the future. Arabella and Dorcas are left for the final scene to vow improvement; having surrendered to Sir Charles the former will now give up her wild airs and mad frolics, and study to play a soberer part. Dorcas brings herself to discard quakerish cant and affected sanctity, and joins her husband's worship. All the persons of the drama, to conclude with a remark of Scott's on the 18th century dramatists, seem, as if by common consent, to abandon their dramatic character before throwing off their stage dresses.[1]

c) The Humours.

In the influence of Jonson and his contemporaries the English drama of the Restoration preserved untouched older national traditions. Congreve worked under the domination of Shakespeare and Jonson; Thomas Shadwell proudly professed himself a pupil of Ben, whose variety of humours he attempted to reproduce, and with a host of minor dramatists his son Charles followed in the same master's footsteps with his two first and, at the same time, best comedies "*The Fair Quaker of Deal, or the Humours of the Navy*," and "*The Humours of the Army.*" His choice of humours in the "*Fair Quaker*" no doubt commended itself to him for

[1] W. Scott, *Essay on the Drama.* 1780.

dramatic representation first and foremost on account of the personal and close experience of sea-life he had and, moreover, on the score of its novelty, to which he lays just claim in the prologue. To my knowledge naval humours had not, before, been given such prominence in dramatic treatment. Plays with narrations of sea-voyages and sea-fights were nothing uncommon in and after the time of Elizabeth,[1] it is true; but Shadwell's comedy gives us, on the other hand, and in distinction from such plays with their preference for incident and adventure, some insight into the intimate life of a ship's crew; it makes us acquainted with captains, subalterns, and sailors, and their relation to one another; we get a glimpse at the intellectual and moral side of their existence and some rather rare information about the many abuses then prevalent in the navy. Its description of humours gives the "*Fair Quaker*" a claim to be remembered in literary history as a noteworthy record of marine characters and manners in the century before and after 1700.

Among Shadwell's marine folk Flip and Mizen stand out as strongly marked contrasts, typifying two classes of seafarers antagonistic in point of manners and etiquette and a source of constant vexation and raillery to each other. There is the commodore, a rude-mannered sea-dog and sworn enemy of the gentlemen of the navy. In his own terms the latter are but "ridiculous monkeys," "butterflies," "fair-weather fops," "who, forsooth, must wear white linen, have field-beds, lie in Holland sheets and load their noddles with thirty ounces of whores' hair."[2] He suspects them with some reason to hate the sight of an enemy for fear bullets and gunpowder should spoil the beau wig and laced jacket "Oh, it was not so in the Dutch wars!" he exclaims woefully,

[1] Cp. for inst. Thomas Heywood: *Fortune by Sea and Land*, before 1603; Beaumont and Fletcher: *The Double Marriage*, 1619—20; *The Knight of Malta*, 1618—19; *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, 1626.

[2] I, III.

"then we valued ourselves upon wooden legs and stumps of arms, and fought as if heaven and earth were coming together."[1]

Mizen, indeed, considers a fighting navy the least part of their business; he is for "a polite navy;—that is, a navy full of sense and good manners; a navy of proper, handsome, well-drest fellows; that when it appears abroad, may be the wonder of the world, for glittering, shining coats, powdered wigs, snuff-boxes, and fashionable airs."[2]

Whilst the commodore, intent upon making all the boat's crew drunk according to ancient custom, sits "with as good a bucket of flip before him as e'er was tossed up betwixt the stem and stern of a ship, swearing and storming as if the ship had struck on a rock,"[3] Mizen prepares for his visiting day, on which he generally treats with tea. Expecting to see a great concourse of people, barges, pinnaces, deal-yawls, and longboats innumerable, he will direct his lieutenants and warrant officers, nicely dressed and perfumed, to place themselves on each side of his steerage, his midshipmen and quarteers to be ranged from the bulk-head to the gang-way, in his own white shirts; the ship's side shall be manned by his boat's crew, in spruce apparel and clean gloves, and the rest of the ship's company be ready upon all occasions to give cheers and huzzas according to the quality of his visitants.[4] His cabin, furnished with all the rarities of a town-lady's drawing-room, which he prides himself to enumerate,[5] must be set in order, and a gallon of orange-flower water, a pint of jessamin-oil, and a bushel of sweet powder be carried on board ship.[6] There is nothing that stands more in his way to naval reform than tar-captains like Flip, who will not give a man leave to be decent and clean, themselves

[1] I, III.
[2] II, IX.
[3] I, XI.
[4] I, V. [5] *Ib.*
[6] I, IV.

wearing their shirts till they are lousy; "unlicked bears," pleased with nothing but what stinks of tar and tobacco, who consider nastiness a title to knowledge, and think that none can be sailors but brutes.[1] Of silly words like "haul cat haul" or "belay," in use with such people, he will purge the language, and to this end is now compiling a book.[2] With the commodore his labours are, of course, lost. There has been, it seems, an attempt between the two to settle the quarrel by the length of their swords, but Mizen's was the nimbler turn of wrist. Though Flip desists from using further arguments of this nature he has found means to smash £40 worth of China belonging to his brother captain, and is of opinion that, if the Government knew what a swab Mizen is, he would be knighted for cutting his throat.[3]

It is for not being a coxcomb that Flip values himself. "A pox of nobility!" he exclaims; "the best commodores that ever went between two ends of a ship, had not a drop of nobility in them, thank Heaven."[4] He wants it to be known that he has served in every office belonging to a ship, from a cook's boy to a commodore, that he has all the sea-jests by heart, from the fore-castle to the great cabin, and that he loves a sailor.[5] And yet, if we turn to his inferiors, there is not one among them with the least sense for humane conduct and treatment, but detests him. Easy, a lieutenant of marines under Flip, has got to feel the teeth of the "old dog"; the affair, told in II, I, is a good illustration of the friction between marines and people of the navy proper. That Cribbidge, a copy of Mizen in his manners, is made to lead a dog's life by the commodore, we learn in I, III and II, I.

Brutal injustice on one side is opposed by roguish tricks and petty revenges on the other. When getting some

[1] I, IV.
[2] I, V.
[3] I, IV.
[4] I, III. [5] *Ib.*

necessaries for the men, Easy will cheat the captain in the sum total.[1] Cribbidge treats his comrades with the story of how he overset a glass of wine down Flip's collar, and blaming him for the accident went out of the cabin in a passion.[2] Rovewell and Worthy, Cribbidge and the purser, are all instrumental in tricking the two captains into disreputable marriages.

How is it with the commodore's love for the common sailor? From I, III we know that he gets drunk with every mess in the ship once a week. "That makes the rogues love me," he says; "my joculousness with them makes them fight for me; they keep me out of a French gaol." But his boasted joculousness is still that of a brute, and is thus characterised by the cockswain: "A pox of his kindness, I'd rather be in an engagement of twenty-four hours than mess with him to-night; I know his way well enough, he makes us half-seas over, and then we grow saucy; then after shipping in two or three ladles full more, we fancy we're all before the mast, and so shall go together by the ears: for which, as soons as we come on board, there's whips, pickles, guns, gears, and bilboes for us all."[3] He wants them to be his boon-companions; to make them "clap the bucket to their mouths" is a kind of sport of his; refractories are frightened into getting drunk under threat of the most cruel penalties.[4] He connives at, and, apparently, has

[1] II, I. [2] *Ib.*

[3] I, XI.

[4] See III, VI: *Flip.* Sirrah, don't you flinch your ladle; he that will do that, will run down into the hold in an engagement, or say his prayers in a storm.

1 Sail. Why, I am married, sir, and must lie with my wife to-night, which I have not done this eighteen months.

Flip. You rogue, cann't you get drunk first, and lie with her afterwards?

1 Sail. Ay, sir, but my ill quality is, when I get drunk, I beat my wife immoderately, and kick her out of doors; which I would not willingly do the first night.

Flip. Oh! I'll save you the trouble of that, hellbird, you shall go on board to-night, and sha'n't see your wife these two months.

1 Sail. Oh! then, sir, I'll be drunk with all my heart.

his share in, thievish practices as carried on by the purser.[1] On attempting to lay their grievances before him, the sailors are all but punished for mutiny, and soon cut short by: "Come, no more of your nonsensicalness; but get drunk as fast as you can."[2] How the government is cheated and a whole ship's crew kept miserable by what the purser calls "the methods of the navy" is specified in I, XI and II, XI.[3] Overreached and abused by cook, doctor, purser, and captain, those hardworking men are, in the words of Rovewell, mere galley-slaves.

A personal and emotional note, totally absent in the plot, vibrates in expostulations of this kind, and may be more or less distinctly heard wherever, in the play, the naval humours are dealt with. It is the author's warm sympathy with seafaring folk in general and his fellow feeling with the poor and oppressed among them. He makes himself the spokesman of the much abused Jack Tar, and champions his cause before the public. Characterised in this spirit the humours lend the trivial and unaffecting plot a more serious background, and, while helping to retrieve the comedy from the name of mere farce, add to it, especially in the sailors' scenes of the third act, a distinct touch of the modern social drama.

The response in the hearts of the audience to the

[1] Cp. III, VII.

[2] III, VI.

[3] See II, XI: *Crib.* It has been the method to let a stinking butt of beer stand six days a-broach; and when complaint has been made, the captain (who should do the sailors justice) punishes the complaining rascal for mutiny.

Plea. It has been the method for cooks, with pitch-forks sharp, to squeeze the fat from out the meat, for fear the grease should rise in poor Jack Sailors' stomachs.

Easy. It has been the method to waste a pound to ounces ten which makes the bread, the butter, and the cheese, a poor allowance for those hard-working men.

Rove. In short, what with chest-money, hospitals, slops, two-pences, groats, and mulcts, they are mere galley-slaves.

Plea. The captain uses them like dogs, which forces them to run away; the chequering clerk puts on the R. and then the purser loads their pay with slops they never had, and so cheats the queen and subjects too.

author's call for reform may have been the quicker for the element of patriotism which such an appeal involves. To better the condition of those upon whom rests so much of the country's security and welfare is to perform a national duty. The glory of England's fleet, duly touched upon here and there [1], is the united aim of all seamen, irrespective of their differing humours. Flip's redeeming trait is his soldierly valour and his ardour in the service of his country. The Dutch wars are called up for a background [2, 3]. That Shadwell's patriotic note struck home appears from a remark in the editor's preface to the "*Fair Quaker*".[4] "Much of the roughness of the naval manner," it says, commenting upon the comedy, "is wearing off.—All that remains to be wished is, that the high spirit of valour, exulting in peril unequalled through the various stations of life may not, by the change, be lowered, and the British Navy in consequence cease to be deemed invincible."

The scenes acquainting us with Flip's management of the crew [5] also throw some light on the sailor's personal character and frame of mind. Kept in slavish subjection the range of his interests is naturally very narrow. Besides some talk on the subject of preferments there is little to show that it extends beyond the gratification of his lower instincts. To the cockswain's complaint of Flip's brutality the sailor's answer in I, XI is: "Pshaw, pshaw! who would not stand all this, to have their upper and lower tier well stowed with flip? Besides, we shall each of us have a whore at his charge."

This type of sailor puts before us the most repulsive aspects of sea-life. The setting of Shadwell's naval picture

[1] See I, III, II, I, II, IX.

[2] See I, III.

[3] "Dutch" is, and has continued to be, used as a term of contempt; cp. I, V: . . . silly words, only fit for Dutchmen to pronounce; III, VIII: . . . as cowardly as a Dutchman that has drunk no brandy.

[4] See Bell's *Brit. Theatre*, 1792.

[5] See I, XI, III, VI—VIII.

is supplied by the sea-port Deal, earmarked in the comedy as a monstrous place for wickedness, worse than any other in Europe.[1] Rovewell's report of the "Deal angels" in I, II, or the sailors' scene at the end of the 3rd act, where the crew, once rid of their "rum duke", put it to the vote whether they shall beat the mayor and corporation and drown the constable, or ravish all the women they meet with and unwindow the houses, characterise its atmosphere with sufficient clearness.

d) General Remarks.

As an accurate picture of contemporary manners and, with regard to the plot, as a comedy of intrigue the "*Fair Quaker*" gives abundant evidence of its dependence on the drama of the Restoration. Though dressed in novel humours, its seamen do not, therefore, represent any new kind of character; they are like the rest of Shadwell's *dramatis personae* in the vein of the Restoration comedy. Flip and Mizen continue—a marine species—the traditional bully and dandy, Worthy and Rovewell, something like "the fine gentleman," Dorcas, the ingénue, Arabella, the scheming jealous, Belinda, the rich heiress of brisk and free-spirited temper. There are the jilts and the pert chambermaids. But, whereas the writers of Congreve's time were at home in the drawing-rooms and coffee-houses of London giving us pictures of fashionable London society, Shadwell's best creations show him to have been more familiar with life on boardship and in camp. Men of primitive nature, as sailors and soldiers, seem to have suited his pen better than people of refined condition, of whom, apparently, he knew very little.

No two names of authors could be wider apart than Congreve's and Shadwell's with regard to their mastery of stage dialogue. Shadwell's prose is consistently dull and heavy, but in the great dramatic quality of observation of

[1] I, II.

manners he stands rather high. His sailors, if compared with Congreve's Ben, in "*Love for Love*," have the merit of greater truth to life. The very grossness of his dialogue shows off to advantage in those coarse, simple and unsophisticated natures, adding colour and reality to their feeling and character. Saintsbury's remark about the elder Shadwell that his absence of imagination and bareness of literary gift made him faithful and true applies with equal justice to his son [1].

Artless though Charles's realism is, the coarseness of his portrait is not mere vulgarity; one may find some of that refinement in it which, according to Hazlitt, consists in working out the parts [2]. Finished dialogue, it may, besides, be argued, would have been wasted in a production that depended for its support on audiences with whom farcical incident and low humour were all important.

Quite the best thing in the speech of Shadwell's sailors is its wealth of similes drawn from sea-life, often striking by their freshness or ludicrousness and marking the comedy as a rare compendium of seamen's phraseology.[3]

With the remaining characters, *viz.* those not specially expressive of nautical life, the author's want of wit and elegance makes itself more disagreeably felt, as it is not, there, compensated by any naturalness of "humours." In scenes dealing with love he fails to exhibit the least touch of poetic emotion. His people—there are three couples of lovers beside the two sham ones—must always tell you when they are in love, in despair.[4] Sentiment was not in

[1] Introd. to *Thomas Shadwell.*

[2] Hazlitt, *The English Comic Writers of the Last Century.* 1818.

[3] For the naval character and the language of nautical metaphor in Engish fiction since the days of Wycherley and Congreve see C. E. Baines, *A Short Hist. of Engl. Lit.* London 1909. p. 185-6.

[4] Cp. for instance Worthy, in I, VIII: Dear charmer, I am all ecstasy; the same in IV, III: You never saw me in such agonies of grief before. Rovewell in IV, I: I still must love you; tho' ne'er so ill used, like a spaniel, I must fawn upon you; the same in IV, III: Ten thousand letters ne'er could make me alter the rooted passion I have for you; cp. also Rovewell's words quoted on p. 37.

fashion at Shadwell's time, but his inability to express it is something beyond that.—In passages involving tragic feelings reminiscences of the Restoration tragedy are observable in the form of rhetorical flourishes, which look rather out of harmony with the wooden prose of their context.[1] Of women the dramatist has less understanding than of men; his Arabella, Belinda, and the rest, are as lifeless stage-puppets as can be.

The naval humours are a transcript from life; the plot, on the other hand, is purely artificial. His characters the dramatist brought back from a sea-voyage; it remained for him to invent an intrigue to hinge them on to. Such seems to have been the way the play was formed. The plot, unconnected in its three parts, is taken from comedy,[2] and looks rather like an excrescence upon the characters than a natural outgrowth. It is not suggested and built up by them. Disguises and letters, the most threadbare expedients of the theatre, are resorted to in unravelling its events. But the public, amused by its drollery and busy movement, neither resented its artificiality nor its low and hackneyed *motifs*. Genest calls the "*Fair Quaker*" a laughable comedy. With regard to the comic effect of the play some attention is also due to its capacity for receiving suggestions that are known in the language of the theatre as "business,"[3] a vital mark of acting drama, which goes far to explain the stage success of many a play of poor literary merit. With plenty of opportunities for practical caricature and fun the "*Fair Quaker*" offered good parts to broadly comic actors.—Its construction reveals the author's constant view to the stage and his sense for scenic proportion and juxtaposition.

[1] Worthy in I, x: Since by envious ways she strives to break the cord of our united hearts . . .; the same, in IV, ii: Darkness draws its sable curtains o'er my eyes! and in IV, iii: What ill-boding spirit could owe me such a spite, and cross at once my full-blown joys? Dorcas in IV, ii: Horrors and despair will end my days.

[2] See p. 27 ff.

[3] Cp. F. Archer, *How to Write a Good Play*. London, 1892, p. 61 f.

Judged by the test of time the "*Fair Quaker*" comes under the head of a very successful acting comedy. It may stand for an example to show that no study of the drama can be sufficient apart from its performance. I have, therefore, attempted to group on the following pages some materials towards a stage-history of the comedy.

---

3. THE STAGE-HISTORY of THE FAIR QUAKER

WITH A SIDE-REFERENCE

TO CONTEMPORARY THEATRICAL CUSTOMS.

a) Success of the Play and Dates of Performance.

Owing to dissensions between actors and patentees Drury Lane had, in 1709, become deserted. Pope, writing to Cromwell, August 19th, says: "Drury lies desolate, in the profoundest peace, and the melancholy prospect of the nymphs yet lingering about its beloved avenues appears no less moving than that of the Troyan dames lamenting over their ruined Ilium."

Meanwhile, Collier, M.P. for Truro, had been considering the management of a theatre a good scheme; he took forcible possession of the house by turning its old occupier into the street with the help of a hired mob, and opened Drury, on November 23rd, 1709, under the direction of Aaron Hill and with Booth for his leading tragedian. The novelty of this circumstance for a time turned the tide of public favour on the side of the new adventurers. But the most happy incident in the fortune of Drury Lane was the charm of Miss Santlow in the part of the *Fair Quaker*. "Not the enthusiastic maid of Orleans was more serviceable of old to the French army when the English had distressed them than this fair Quaker was at the head of that dramatic attempt upon which the support of their weak society

depended."[1] The success of the "*Fair Quaker*" made itself severely felt in the recently established Haymarket Opera, where Cibber was then shareholder. He complains that numbers were drawn from their audiences by the better rank of people daily attending the trial of Dr. Sacheveral in Westminster Hall, while, at the same time, the lower sort, who were not equally admitted to that grand spectacle, as eagerly crowded into Drury Lane to a new comedy called "*The Fair Quaker of Deal.*"

But for the unfair terms made by Cibber, who must have been the comedian alluded to in the preface,[2] Shadwell would have had his comedy performed at the Haymarket; three years later it was accepted at Drury Lane, where it proved a splendid success. If Cibber pours scorn on the multitude, for whose coarse taste, as he says, this play, having some low strokes of natural humour in it, was rightly calculated, his verdict falls in with Shadwell's own estimate of his audience.[3] But the continued success of the comedy shows that by 'multitude' we have got to understand more than sixpenny customers. On May 30th, 1711 the play was performed "at the desire of several Ladies of Quality;" on November 8th, 1755 "by His Majesty's Command." George II.[4] was best pleased with those dramatic pieces which abounded in low humour and

[1] C. Cibber, *Hist. of the Stage.*

[2] The preface to the *Fair Quaker* is as follows: "This play was writ about 3 years since and put into the hands of a famous comedian belonging to the Haymarket playhouse who took care to beat down the value of it so much as to offer the author to alter it fit to appear on the stage on condition he might have half the profits of the third day and the dedication entire; that is as much as to say that it might pass for one of his, according to custom. The author not agreeing to this reasonable(?) proposal, it lay in his hands till the beginning of this winter when Mr. Booth read it and liked it and persuaded the author that with a little alteration it would please the town. Indeed the success of it has been wonderful; notwithstanding the Trial in Westminster Hall and the Rehearsal of the new opera, it has answered the ends of the poet and, he hopes, that of the town too."

[3] Cp. p. 44.

[4] Cp. f. n. p. 58.

extravagant plot. "*The London Cuckolds*" and "*The Fair Quaker of Deal*" were in more estimation with him than the best written comedies in the English language.[1]

The following table[2] shows the "*Fair Quaker*" to have been staged at the London theatres in Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Lincoln's Inn Fields, and to have been performed by the same companies on their summer-tours in Greenwich and Liverpool. Of Dublin one performance only is recorded. Though incomplete, the list sufficiently reveals the fact that the comedy used to be a stock play of the London stage—in the first instance of Drury Lane—right through the 18th century. It was acted in 1710, D. L., Febr. 25,[3] June 2, Dec, 7; Greenwich, July 12.[4] 1711, D. L., May 30,[5] Oct. 16. 1712, D. L., March 10, May 23, Nov. 26. 1713, D. L., Febr. 24, May 29, Oct. 1. 1715, L. I. F., May 21. 1718, D. L., Jan. 21, Dec. 15; L. I. F., Oct. 3, 31. 1719, L. I. F., Nov. 12. 1720, D. L., Aug. 16, Oct. 18, 28;[6] L. I. F., Jan. 21, Apr. 19, Nov. 18. 1721, L. I. F., Jan. 13, Nov. 12, Dec. 29. 1723, L. I. F., Nov. 12. 1724, L. I. F., Jan. 7, Oct. 30. 1726, L. I. F., Feb. 5. 1730, D. L., Oct. 20; L. I. F., May 18, Oct. 12. 1731, D. L., June 4. 1732, L. I. F., Jan. 26, Dec. 24. 1738, C. G., Jan. 2, April 15. 1739, C. G., Febr. 15, Oct. 26. 1742, C. G., April 19. 1743, C. G., Mai 4. 1746, C. G., Jan. 8. 1748, C. G., April 13. 1752, C. G., Apr. 28, Dec. 13. 175?, Jan. 14. 1755, D. L., Oct. 6, 7, 9,[7] 11, 15, 20, Nov. 8.[8] 1756, D. L., Sept.

[1] *Life of Mrs. Abington, Mrs. Cibber and James Quin.* London, 1887.

[2] Most dates are taken from collections of newspaper-cuttings at the British Museum, see p. 8 and 9; some from Genest; for other sources see f. n.

[3] See Genest II, p. 436 f., and C. Cibber, *History of the Stage.*

[4] At Pinkethman's summer-theatre.

[5] At the desire of several Ladies of Quality; see *Spectator* of same date.

[6] Part of the *Fair Quaker* by Mrs. Booth.

[7] See play-bill, p. 64.

[8] By His Majesty's command. Genest IV, p. 442: *Fair Quaker*, with, never performed, *The Chinese Festival.* The mob took so much offence at the foreign dancers—most of them being Swiss, Italians or Germans—that a riot ensued notwithstanding the King was present.

28,[1] Oct. 18, Dec. 29.[2] 1757, D. L., March 10,[3] Dec. 27. Dublin, Oct. 10. 1759, D. L., May 16. 1760, D. L., May 16. 1766, C. G., Ap. 15. 1772, D. L., May 12. 1773, D. L., Nov. 9,[4] 16, Dec. 14. 1774, D. L., March 21, Apr. 6, 16, May 2, Sept. 29, Oct. 31, Nov. 9, Dec. 27; Liverpool, June 24. 1776, D. L., Apr. 22, Nov. 9. 1777, D, L., Apr. 30, June 4; Liverpool, Aug. 9. 1779, C. G., Apr. 21. 1781, D. L., May 10. 1783, D. L., May 2, Sept. 27. 1785, D. L., Jan. 6. 1792 about, see Bell's ed., 1792.[5]

b) The Players.

In the preface the author mentions the extraordinary performances of Mrs. Bradshaw, Mrs. Santlow, Mr. Pack, and Mr. Leigh as the only people on the English stage that could have acted those parts so much to the life.

If anywhere, the name of Hester Santlow, as an actress, deserves to be recorded in connection with Shadwell's "*Fair Quaker of Deal.*" Theo. Cibber describes her as a beautiful woman, lovely in her countenance, delicate in her form, a pleasing actress, and a most admirable dancer, generally allowed, in the last mentioned part of her profession, to have been superior to all who had been seen before her, and who, perhaps, has not been since excelled.[6] Her reception as an actress was probably not a little owing to the admiration she had excited as a dancer. Booth, enamoured of her poetry of motion, describes her with all

[1] Play-bills of Sept. 28, Oct. 18 and Dec. 29, 1756, are extant.

[2] See also Victor's *Annual Register of Plays*, from 1712.

[3] Referring to a previous performance a short article in the *London Chronicle* of this date reviews Shadwell's comedy with great contempt.

[4] As altered by Capt. E. Thompson, see p. 61.

[5] Bell's cast differs from that of 1785 as given in Genest VI, p. 335 and—were it to be depended on—would suggest that the *Fair Quaker* was kept in the bills after 1785, considering that Bell gave the names of the performers who acted the characters as near the time of publication as he could procure them.

[6] "Far off from these see Santlow, fam'd for Dance." Gay's *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*, quoted in Bellchamber's *Cibber*.

due ardour in an "*Ode on Mira, Dancing*," as resembling Venus in shape, air, mien, and eyes, as striking a whole theatre with love, when "alone she fills the spacious scene." He married her in 1719.[1] Her first appearance in character was at Drury Lane, 3rd December, 1709, as Miss Prue, in "*Love for Love*." Ophelia, in "*Hamlet*," seems to have been one of her strong parts; but her most signal success she scored as Dorcas Zeal in the "*Fair Quaker*."[2] "This character," says Colley Cibber, "happily suited her figure and capacity. The gentle softness of her voice, the composed innocence of her aspect, the modesty of her dress, the reserved decency of her gesture, and the simplicity of the sentiments that naturally fell from her, made her seem the amiable maid she represented."

Booth condescended to act Worthy to H. Santlow's Dorcas. Shadwell omits mentioning his name among the best performers. In tragic parts "without a shadow of a rival" he did not, in comedy, find passions strong enough to excite his fire. In the part of Worthy he seems to have exhibited that manifest languor which has sometimes been observed in his action. Mizen was one of the most important among the several original characters which Pack played at Drury Lane and one of his best parts. Of the perform-

---

[1] At the time Booth began to fix his eyes upon her she was celebrated for her beauty, her money, her jewels, and her incontinence. Galt, *Life of Players*.

To her Victor dedicates the 3rd volume of his *History of the Theatres*, speaking in exalted language of the delight which the public received from her performances. At the same time he is cruel enough to tell her that she had rather pass her remaining days forgotten as an actress than to have her youth recollected in the most favourable light. The infamy of Booth's marriage with her in 1719 is referred to in Bellchamber's *Cibber*. To the memory of her husband, with whom she had lived in perfect harmony and conjugal felicity Mrs. Booth erected a monument, about six months before her death, in Westminster Abbey. She died in 1773, in the 93rd year of her age.

[2] See Genest for other characters in which she appeared. She probably did not act after 1733, the year of her husband's death.

ances of Leigh and Mrs. Bradshaw no record is left.[1] Cibber, with a sneer, remarks of the actors that the "*Fair Quaker*" was rightly calculated for their capacity. They retained their parts under him after he had come over from the Haymarket in November 1710.

c) E. Thompson's Alteration.

From about 1760 the "*Fair Quaker*" began to show signs of its years, when new life was imparted to it through Thompson's alteration. The first idea, the captain says in his "Address to the Reader," came from Mr. Garrick, and Mr. Weston's natural humour gave birth to Dick Binnacle, in great measure a new character.[2] Thompson, the author of several farces, masques, etc.,[3] professes to have made the characters more modern and dressed them to the humours of the times. He speaks in laudatory terms of Shadwell's marine knowledge, and has a great deal of praise for his admirably adapted sea-phrases and his characters, of which he says that they are well delineated and not more heightened than the natural pictures allowed of. Shadwell, he thinks, must have served in the navy some years before he could paint so well to life. The alterations he feels called upon to make are, above all, concerned with obsolete fashions, and, consequently, affect the fop more than any other of the *dramatis personae*. Mizen is turned into a maccarone-captain,[4] who passes his hours at

[1] Leigh, probably Francis Leigh, son of "the famous Mr. Antony Leigh," one of the actors who, on 14th June, 1710, defied the authority of Aaron Hill, the manager for Collier, broke open the doors of D. L., and created a riot. See Dict. of N. Biogr.

[2] Weston had served as a midshipman to the "Warspite," a 74 gun ship, and after joining an itinerant company experienced all the ups and downs of a strolling life. Owing to frequent intoxication he died in 1776. See Oulton, *The Hist. of Theatres of London*. 1796.

[3] Mentioned in Egerton's *Theatrical Remembrancer*. London, 1788.

[4] Maccarone, a coxcomb (Italian, *un maccherone*). The word is derived from the Macaroni Club, instituted by a set of flashy men who had travelled

sea in thrumming the guitar. The furniture of his cabin, the articles of his toilet, and the delicacies he treats with, are re-arranged according to fashion. He loses nothing by the change, whereas, in the case of Flip, the effect is weaker. To suit the prevalent taste two songs are inserted, one by Hatchway on "true classical English grog," and the other by Mizen, who in pursuit of his ideal of a polite navy thinks of "sol-faing sailors into fine gentlemen." Binnacle, a low kind of wag, is no improvement upon Shadwell's characters. It is no doubt with reference to him that Thompson feels induced to vindicate his "seasoning" of the comedy.[1] There is, indeed, a certain grossness or freedom of expression, to use Hazlitt's words, which may arise as often from unsuspecting simplicity as from avowed profligacy. This, however, is evidently more the case of Shadwell than of his adapter. The latter takes so much care to cut out all the gross indecencies of the former version and to make it less offensive to the nicer ears of his audience that the very words he uses in his defence may be turned against him and his own time. The Biogr. Dram. has nothing but contempt for Thompson's performance. Genest, on the other hand, calls the alteration a good one; he finds Thompson's remark (given in foot-note 1) worth quoting, and adds in support of it the story of a lady of dubious reputation, who thought it necessary to take

---

in Italy and introduced Italian maccheroni at Almack's subscription table. The Macaronies were the most exquisite fops that ever disgraced the name of man; vicious, insolent, fond of gambling, drinking, and duelling, they were (about 1773) the curse of Vauxhall Gardens. Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.*

[1] Although the seasoning may be too high for the palates of the present age, yet, in times of less luxury, and more chastity, the drama was always more loose and unguarded. It is an uncontrovertible truth that the more vicious we grow in conduct and disposition the more chaste and refined we become in sentiment and conversation; for when we have really lost our chastity and reputation, we artfully assume a foreign character and endeavour, by a prudish behaviour, to hide the very vices we practise. Thompson's Address to the Reader.

offence at some old plays revived at an eminent provincial theatre.[1]

The plot is left entirely unaltered. The scene is changed from Deal to Portsmouth. Though reprinted in its original form in Bell's edition of 1792,[2] the comedy continued to be played in its altered version.[3]

d) Auxiliary Entertainments.

In looking through the play-bills of the 18th century one's notice is attracted by the fact that besides the traditional stage-accessories of music and dancing the plays, from about 1720, are regularly followed by some after-piece, a pantomime, as a rule, or an occasional farce as seen on the following bill (an original one and not one taken from newspapers).

The sustained popularity of pantomime marks the pleasure contemporary society took in low buffoonery and grotesque merriment of all kinds. To give an account of its nature and history means, at the same time, to characterise the spirit of the age, which afforded the "*Fair Quaker*" such a number of years for its life-time.

From Italy the Restoration drama had already imported the opera and the ballet. The opera did not lose its hold on the public any more, and in 1708 was considered attractive enough to occupy a house of its own in the Haymarket. Dancing became a favourite expedient for enhancing the effects of operatic dramas, as well as for furnishing comedies with an agreeable intermezzo or exhilarating finish.[4]

Pantomime came at a comparatively late date.[5] In

[1] *Some Account of the E. St.*, V, p. 397 f.

[2] See also p. 26.

[3] See the playbills of the time.

[4] For 23rd Nov. 1706, f. inst., *The Libertine Destroy'd* was announced at the Queen's Theatre in Dorset Garden "With a Masque set to Musick . . . and Entertainments of Dancing by Monsieur Cherrier and Miss Santlow his Schollar, also by Mrs. Evans taught by Mr. Siris."

[5] Ward, E. *Dram. Lit.* III, p. 325.

AT THE

Theatre Royal in *Drury-Lane*,

This preſent *Thurſday*, being the 9th of *October*, *1755*
Will be *Reviv'd* a COMEDY, call'd

The Fair QUAKER of *Deal*;

Or, The *Humours* of the *Navy*.

Beau *Mizen* by Mr. WOODWARD,
Capt. *Worthy* by Mr. HAVARD,
Rovewell by Mr. ROSS,
Sir *Charles Pleaſant* by Mr. PALMER,
Comodore *Flip* by Mr. YATES,
Arabella Zeal by Miſs MACKLIN,
Belinda by Miſs HAUGHTON,
Jenny Private by Miſs MINORS,
The *Fair Quaker* by Mrs. DAVIES.

The SAILORS by
Mr. Beard, *Mr. Vaughan*, *Mr. Mozeen*, *Mr. Clough*,
Mr. Atkins, *Mr. Ackman*, &c.

With a New *Song* by Mr. *BEARD* in Character,
To conclude with a *SAILOR*'s Dance.
The Principal Characters NEW Dreſs'd.
With a COMIC DANCE by
Mr. *DENNISON*. Mrs. *VERNON*, &c.

To which will be added a FARCE, call'd

The Intriguing Chambermaid.

Lettice by Mrs. CLIVE,
The *Drunken Colonel* by Mr. WOODWARD.

Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. Firſt Gallery 2s. Upper Gallery 1s.
PLACES for the Boxes to be had of Mr. VARNEY, at the Stage-Door of the *Theatre*.
† *No Perſons to be admitted behind the Scenes, nor any Money to be returned after the* Curtain *is drawn up.* *Vivat* REX.

To-morrow, *MACBETH*. — *Garrick*

Reduced Facsimile.

1714 the new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields opened under the direction of John Rich. As Drury Lane possessed the more capable company, he was obliged to oppose his antagonists with other weapons than the merits of his actors or the excellence of the pieces represented by them. He accordingly began in 1716 to give entertainments in the Italian style, which speedily developed into pantomime.[1] On 22nd April the performance of the "*Cheats*" was followed by that of a piece unnamed, of which the characters only are given. These consist of Harlequin by Lun, Punch by Shaw, and Scaramouch by Thurmond. Lun was the name under which in pantomime Rich appeared.[2] "*The Two Harlequins*," published in 1718, and printed on one side in French and the other in English, is said on the title-page to have been acted by French comedians at Lincoln's Inn Fields.[3] "*The Fair of St. Germain*," translated from Boursault, was given under similar conditions. This species of entertainment soon did so much to carry away the applause and favour of the town that Drury Lane, put on the defensive, was obliged reluctantly to follow the example set by the rival theatre. The word "pantomime" appears in the Drury Lane bills as early as 1719. On the 4th December a play was announced "With a new Dramatic Entertainment of Dancing, composed by Mr. Thurmond, after the manner of the Pantomimes, call'd "*A Duke and no Duke*," and on the 29th of the same month "*The Loves of Mars and Venus*," alluded to by C. Cibber in his Apology, was given as an after-piece. He calls it the first attempt of their company at "a connected presentation of Dances in Character" and dates from it "that succession of monstrous medleys that have so long infested the stage and

[1] On 19th April 1720 the *Fair Quaker of Deal* was given at Lincoln's Inn Fields with Entertainments of Dancing by . . . Likewise the surprising and diverting Entertainment of *The Italian Shadows*, perform'd but twice these 20 years.

[2] Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

[3] Genest II, p. 654.

which arose upon one another alternately at both houses, outvying in expense, like contending bribes on both sides at an election, to secure a majority of the multitude."

Originally consisting of action without speech the English pantomime,[1] as created by Rich, and in which he invariably figured as Harlequin[2] in patchwork costume with double-bladed magic bat and mask, was a species of dramatic composition hitherto unknown. It consisted of two parts, one serious and the other comic. By the help of gay scenes, fine habits, grand dances, appropriate music, and other decorations, he exhibited a story from Ovid's Metamorphosis, or some other fabulous writer. Between the pauses or acts of this serious representation he interwove a comic fable consisting chiefly of the courtship of Harlequin and Columbine, with a variety of surprising adventures and tricks which were produced by the magic wand of Harlequin; such as the sudden transformation of palaces and temples to huts and cottages, of men and women into wheel-barrows and joint-stools, of trees turned to houses, colonnades to beds of tulips and mechanics' shops into serpents and ostriches.[3]

By his fertility of invention in these exotic entertainments and the excellence of his own performance in the character of Harlequin, which all the copies of him have proved was inimitable, Rich kept the managers of the other house from relaxing their diligence, and to the disgrace of the public taste frequently obtained more money by such ridiculous and paltry exhibitions than all the sterling merit of the rival theatre was able to acquire.

Thurmond, a dancing master, brought out his Pantomime of "*Harlequin Dr. Faustus*" at Drury Lane about

[1] For the pantomime as it forms, nowadays, a feature of Christmas holidays, see Murray, Engl. Dict.

[2] An engraving representing him as Harlequin may be seen in Doran, *His Majesty's Servants*, ed. 1897; see also Dict. of N. Biogr.

[3] Th. Davies's *Garrick*.

the beginning of the season 1723/24.[1] This Rich seems to have considered as an encroachment on his prerogative; in December 1723 he produced his "*Necromancer* or *Dr. Faustus*," which was acted with greater success and no doubt got up with superior splendour.[2] The following newspaper advertisement for the "*Necromancer*" in 1724 with its absence of cast for the play proper and characters set out in detail for the pantomime is characteristic of the importance attached to such after-pieces. The bill reads thus:

"At the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields, this present Tuesday being the 7th Day of January, will be presented a comedy, called "*The Fair Quaker of Deal*" or, "*The Humours of the Navy*". To which will be added, a new drammatick Entertainment of Dancing in Grotesque Characters, called, "*The Necromancer*", or "*Harlequin Doctor Faustus*," Harlequin, by Mr. Lun; the Good and Evil Genius, an Infernal Spirit; the Shades of Helen, Hero, Leander and Charon, performed by Mr. Leveridge, Mr. Legar, Mrs. Chambers and others.

Daemons represented in the following Characters:

Harlequin :	Man and Woman	Mr. Dupre and Mrs. Rogeir
Pierot . . .		Mr. Nivelon, jun. and Mrs. Cross
Mezzetin . .	AND	Mr. Glover, and Mrs. Wall
Scaramouch .	Performed by	Mr. Lanyon and Mrs. Bullock

Punch, by Mr. Nivelon, sen. And all the other parts performed by the Comedians. N. B. None will be admitted into the Boxes but by Printed Tickets, which will be delivered at the Doors at 5*s.* each; pit, 3*s.*; Gallery, 2*s.* 'T is desired that no Persons will take it ill if they are refused Admittance behind the Scenes, it being impossible to perform the Entertainment if the Passages are not kept entirely clear.

Rich showed an excellent taste for scenery, decorations, and machinery in all of his productions. His point was, as it had been his father's, to please the majority who could more easily comprehend anything they saw than the daintiest things that could be said to them. He regulated his theatrical arrangements entirely by the public taste, and regarded merit only as the town followed it. The Drury Lane company were obliged either to comply with the vulgar taste

[1] See *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* with the *Masque of the Deities*; composed by John Thurmond, Dancing-master. London, 1724; Catalogue mark of the British Museum, 11,775, c. 96.

[2] For Geo. Jeffreys's allusion to the rivalship between the two pantomimes in the epilogue to his *Idæm*, see Genest III, p. 156.

or to starve. C. Cibber says that notwithstanding, they made use of these pantomimes but as crutches to their weakest plays. They had still a due respect to several select plays that were able to be their own support, and in which they found their constant account without painting and patching them out, like prostitutes, with these follies in fashion.

Harlequin had, in fact, become the rage. A mock Astrologer, a Gypsy, Fortunatus, a Director, a Merry Spirit, Mercury, were harlequinised; there was a Harlequin Executed,—Restored,—Turned Judge,—Enchanted,—Metamorphosed. The audience was regaled with harlequinery no matter what kind of play it was strung on to. Harlequin Skeleton was made to follow "*The London Cuckolds*" as well as "*Macbeth*" and "*Othello*". The feats of the motley coloured gentleman and the operas at Covent Garden Theatre, opened in 1732 under the direction of the same John Rich who had performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields, proved equally attractive with the abilities even of Garrick. From 1717 to 1760, the year before his death, Rich produced a pantomime annually of which few failed to please the public, most of them running forty or fifty nights consecutively.[1]

Hundreds of pounds were sometimes spent on elaborate machinery for the *mise en scène* of a pantomime; on the smooth working of it the success of the piece naturally depended. A note similar to that on page 67 was then put in the play-bill refusing admittance behind the scenes on account of the machinery. This was still thought necessary after we have passed the middle of the century, although, in 1704, Queen Anne had issued a decree destined to clear the stage from those idle gentlemen who took their daily stand where they might best elbow the actor and come in for their share of the auditor's attention. The evil was too deep-rooted to be so easily abolished. In 1720 tickets for admission behind the scenes were issued

[1] Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

at Lincoln's Inn Fields for half-a-guinea each.[1] It was left for the pantomime to drive away for good those parasites which had so long infested the stage. The N.B. "No Persons to be admitted behind the Scenes, nor any Money to be returned after the Curtain is drawn up" can still be seen in the bills in the seventies.

Pope has been pleased to immortalise Cibber and Booth in his Dunciad for the countenance they gave to pantomime; with how little reason in the case of the former is evident from Cibber's "Apology." Booth, however, did not think such mummeries a great indignity to the stage. One night being with Theo. Cibber at a coffee-house, a number of gentlemen gave him their thanks for the extraordinary pleasure they had received the night before from his excellent acting in the part of Varanes, and at the same time civilly blamed him for having tacked to so fine a play that senseless stuff of "*Perseus and Andromeda*." Booth frankly answered that he thought a thin audience a much greater indignity to the stage than such entertainments and a full one most likely to keep up the spirit of the actor and consequently heighten the representation. He begged them to consider there were many more spectators than men of taste and judgment, and if, by the artifice of a pantomime, they could entice a greater number to partake of a good play than could be drawn without it, he could not see any great harm in it. For his part, he confessed he considered profit as well as fame. By those auxiliary pantomimes they not only found their pit and gallery were fuller, but their boxes made a nobler appearance, and as

[1] The newspaper advertisement of Jan. 21st 1720 for Lincoln's Inn Fields contains the following N. B.: Whereas the liberty of the Scenes has been lately abused by Rioting, and Disturbing the Audiences, None for the future will be admitted but who shall take tickets at the Stage-door which will be deliver'd out at Half a Guinea each. — This notice continues for some time. Cp. also the stage-riot under Rich on 1st February 1721, as told in the Dict of N. Biogr.

Mr. A. Hill had justly observed, he could not think it was the business of directors to be wise to empty boxes.[1]

However the severer critics might cry out against these mummeries, as they often called them, yet as the managers found laying out some hundreds on such a farce would bring them as many thousands, who can be surprised that they continued them, while they turned so much to their account. Following the public attachment to sound and show they even went so far as to have auxiliary entertainments performed before and after the play proper. On 29th September 1774 for inst., the theatrical menu at Drury Lane contained, briefly stated, the following items:

A New Medley of favourite Sea-Tunes.
A new short introductory piece, called the "*Meeting of the Company,*" or "*Bayes Art of Acting.*" (Follow the names of 10 actors).
"*The Fair Quaker.*"[2]
A Naval Review.
A Dance of Sailors.
The Song of Rule Britannia.
A Pantomime Entertainment, called "*The Elopement.*"
The scene of The Waterfall.

Musical interludes were frequently performed between the play and the entertainment.

The prices in the playbill are what used to be called advanced prices, which were raised only on very particular occasions, such as benefit-nights, or the first run of a new or revived and thoroughly new-dressed play. After the run of such a play was over the figures fell again to their old standard, *viz.* Boxes, 4*s.*, Pit, 2*s.* 6*d.*, First Gallery, eighteen pence, and Upper Gallery, 1*s.* They were also raised at the introduction of additional entertainments, the run of

[1] Th. Cibber, *Life of B. Booth*, p. 68 f.

[2] For the time the comedy took in the performing (before its alteration) see J. Brownsmith, *The Dramatic Time-Piece.* London 1767.

many of which was so great that the advanced prices by their frequent use became rather the common prices.[1]

There had been disturbances for two or three nights at D. L. about full prices being taken for an old pantomime of no manner of merit. People objected to being obliged to pay for what they did not want to see. On Theo. Cibber's advice the following N. B. was, therefore, inserted in the bills: "The Advance Money to be returned to those who chuse to go out before the Overture to the Entertainment."[2] This silenced the clamour against the advanced prices, and the managers did not find the receipts much lessened by it. Those few who went out soon grew tired, and it may be questioned if there was a demand for the return of £20 in ten years.[3] From about 1736 the N. B. "No money to be return'd after the Curtain is drawn up" is regularly inserted in the play-bills.

The atmosphere in which Harlequin could flourish gradually began to pass away with the rising dawn of romanticism. A true embodiment of the farcical exuberance of his time he represents, within the sphere of the stage, that degradation of taste which is characteristic of the century as a whole. The unchecked vogue pantomime had, no doubt did much to fasten upon the English mind that love of caricature and the grotesque comic which still inheres in it. Not that the theatre derived no advantage from those auxiliary entertainments. Stage scenery benefited by them as it did by the masques in Davenant's time. Mimic art found in pantomime some of its ablest interpreters. Garrick, Walpole, Davies testify to the "matchless art" of the famous Lun.[4] Banks,[5] Woodward, and Yates[6] displayed artistic eminence in Harlequin parts. Woodward and Lewes are

[1] Th. Cibber's *Booth*.
[2] Genest, D. L. Dec. 14, 1734, and D. L. Dec. 28, 1744.
[3] Th. Cibber's *Booth*.
[4] Dict. of N. Biogr.
[5] Secret Hist. of the Green Room.
[6] Theatr. Biogr.

quoted as instances of famous comedians introduced to the London stage through the character of Harlequin.[1] If actors and managers refused "being wise to empty boxes," they at least contributed to the breeding of a theatre-going public such as can hardly be found outside England.

4. SOURCES.

As appears from p. 82 ff. the figure on which Shadwell has bestowed the titular honours of his play is no original character. There are indications that the "*Humours of the Age*"[2] was not unknown to the author of the "*Fair Quaker of Deal*." A comparison of the *dramatis personae* of the two comedies shows that their respective dispositions bear undeniable resemblance to one another. Quibble and Pun, which may stand for one and the same character,[3] correspond with Mizen, and Justice Goose with Flip. Through them a pair of fools are introduced into the "*Humours*" as well as into the "*Fair Quaker*." Their folly is exposed, and they all are disgraced by being entrapped into a disreputable marriage. Freeman, a gentleman of honour and lover of virtue, is parallel to Worthy; both are made the mouthpiece of the author's moral and philosophical views; both are in love with a fair and virtuous Quakeress; in Baker's and Shadwell's play an attempt to debauch the fair one is made by a villain, Railton here, Mizen there, by the latter under pretence of marriage and with a design upon her money. This base design the lovers discover by a lucky chance and prevent it. Wilson, Freeman's friend, holds the position of Rovewell, Worthy's companion. Lucia and Belinda are the typical "friends" on the women's side. In each play the gentleman "friend" pays his addresses to,

[1] S. Hist. of Gr. Room.

[2] See p. 83.

[3] Cp. dram. pers. of the *Humours of the Age*.

and subsequently marries, the lady "friend," and each time the latter is described as an airy girl of good fortune and hard to subdue.

Some minor details seem to confirm the relation between the two comedies. Pert is rebuked by Lucia for having drawn Quibble into the noose of matrimony. She answers, "Women of my profession, madam, generally strive to prefer themselves; and 'tis more excusable nowadays; for a chambermaid's place is grown very dull since old cloaths are all changed away for china."[1] In the "*Fair Quaker*," after Belinda has been chiding her chambermaid for her conduct, Advocate replies: "Why, madam, there's no posts without perquisites; since you ladies have found out the way of trucking your old clothes for china (which was our due time out of mind), I hope you'll pardon us for trucking your hearts away for a much brittler ware."[2]

Quibble and Mizen are fops, the former a vain pretender to wit and dealer in petty poetry, the latter crowing over his polite way of dressing and his set of china. The moment when they are disenchanted in their love creates as much amusement among the bystanders as consternation to themselves. Lucia ironically tries to comfort Quibble, "Come, come, Mr. Quibble, never be concerned; 'tis to no purpose now; she'll make you an excellent wife; . . . she'll be very helpful to Mr. Pun and you in your poetry; if you happen to write a play she has a very good genius at a song or a couplet at the end of an act."[3] In the same manner Flip upbraids Mizen with his foppish fondness of china: "Oh, fye, brother Mizen, no more hard words, but take her to thy bosom. . . I tell thee, thou couldst not have picked out a wife so fit for thee, out of a whole regiment of doxies. Does she not own

[1] *Humours of the Age*, V, 1.

[2] *Fair Quaker*, II, VI.

[3] *Humours of the Age*, V.

herself a piece of brittle ware? and will so sweetly set off thy cabin with the rest of thy china!"[1]

The similarity, too, in the view held of the two justices may be more than accidental. Justice Goose lives by extortion and connivance, and Justice Scruple is a mean marriage-making bawd. The word "Humours" occurs in the title of each play.

In the "*Humours of the Age*" we have met with a sham Quaker. The Quaker's dress is further used as a deceptive mask in the "*Beaus' Duel*" and in the "*Fair Quaker of Deal.*" In both these plays it is put on by a strumpet for the purpose a of marriage swindle. Mrs. Plotwell, a former mistress to Bellmein, belongs to the same "cloudy generation" as Jenny Private. There is this difference that the former, consequent on her coming into an independent fortune, is presented as virtuous from the beginning of the play, a result which we are led to expect for Jenny at the end of the fifth act only, when she is treated by Mizen with a hundred guineas and fifty pounds a year for life. In both comedies the idea is that the women had been leading lewd lives "not from their thirst to man, but hunger for his bread."[2] Bellmein, in marrying Mrs. Plotwell in her false gown to Careful in the disguise of a parson, performs the same office as Cribbidge towards Jenny and Mizen in Shadwell's comedy. The marriages, therefore, are not meant to be contracted for good and are subsequently undone under advantageous terms to the parties concerned in the contrivance of the plot. To presume, however, that Shadwell had known the "*Beaus' Duel*," and drawn from it, must, from the general use of these and similar *motifs* in Restoration comedy, appear hazardous, even if we take into account that in the "*Hasty Wedding*" he has made use of a *motif* for which, too, the "*Beaus' Duel*" could have served as a prototype. It is

[1] *Fair Quaker*, V, IV.

[2] *Fair Quaker*, V, V.

the marriage for revenge of a father who is irritated at the disobedience of his daughter with regard to his choice of a son-in-law. In both comedies the enraged parent means to wed a humble and modest woman who—the marriage ceremony over—turns out to be a shrew in the case of the "*Hasty Wedding*" and an arrant strumpet in the "*Beaus' Duel.*" The unfortunate girl, in love with a poor fellow, is to be deprived of, or curtailed in, her jointure and the fortune to be settled on her future step-mother.[1]

Dorcas Zeal and Captain Worthy are mutually in love. Arabella is jealous of her sister, and strives "to break the cord of their united hearts." Her advances to Worthy being rejected, she meditates revenge. "The plots of plays and the designs of injured lovers I'll instantly peruse and make them all my own."[2] Which plots of plays she has perused, we learn in the fourth act, where Dorcas receives a forged letter from her hands, signed "Elizabeth Worthy," in which she is informed that Worthy is already married and has got two children; enclosed is another letter, addressed to the captain, threatening him that his wife would appear at Deal and "tear his idol Quaker's heart out." That Ch. Shadwell may already have been acquainted with Molière's "*Mr. de Pourceaugnac*," we know from his "*Plotting Lovers*," an adaptation from Molière's farce. There, Eraste, endeavouring to frighten the country Squire Pourceaugnac out of the place, makes two women with children appear before him, each claiming to be his lawful wife and overwhelming him with abuse and threats. Arabella merely tries to accomplish by letters what with Molière is carried out in person.

[1] Mrs. Plotwell's marriage and subsequent conduct is stolen from the *City Match*. Mrs. Carroll (afterwards Centlivre) has copied many of the speeches verbatim. Genest, II, p. 262. Of the *City Match*, by Jasper Maine, we are again reminded by the name of Dorcas, in the *Fair Quaker of Deal*. In Maine's comedy Dorcas affects to be a Puritan.

[2] *Fair Quaker*, I, IX.

In case this stratagem should fall short of the desired effect Arabella is prepared for an artifice which, before, jealous love had suggested to a woman's brain in Thomas Shadwell's "*Squire of Alsatia*." Both Mrs. Termagant and Arabella act in revenge of slighted love, both put on men's clothes and pretend to have legitimate claims upon the lady whose charms had thrown their own attractions into the shade.[1] Thus Arabella usurps the right of Worthy, and Mrs. Termagent pretends to be contracted to Isabella by mutual enjoyments. Their forged stories, which the former tries to substantiate by a false document and the latter by two bribed affidavit men, at first take effect with Dorcas and Sir William Bellfond respectively. But the intrigue proves abortive through the intervention of a third party; in each case the intriguer's sex is discovered by her peruke being pulled off, and she retires in confusion confessing herself subdued.

That Thomas has lent a helping hand to his son is again manifest from his "*Volunteers, or The Stockjobbers*," through which he brought on the stage the character of a courageous but prodigal and effeminate coxcomb, a familiar figure at William's headquarters in the campaign of 1691 in Flanders. Going to war does not hinder Sir Nicholas from taking great care of his complexion and, in the mornings, practising a certain languishing way of ogling before his glass.[2] Before leaving for the camp he is in great haste to get his points and laces done up.[3] Blunt's objections he refutes energetically: "Damn me, would you have a gentleman go undress'd in a camp? Do you think I would see a camp if there were no dressing? Why, I have two campaign suits, one trimmed with Flanders lace and the other with rich point."[4] Ladies are invited to give their judgment upon some fringe and embroidery which he is to use

[1] Cp. also Vanbrugh's *Provoked Wife* and Th. Shadwell's *Amorous Bigot*.

[2] *The Volunteers*, II, 1. [3] *ib.* [4] *ib.*

for his velvet bed and counterpane in his tent.[1] "The hanging of my tent is all atlasses, the outside is damask."[2] In the stupendous list of all the furniture which he is going to carry into the campaign he items a wagon full of plate and table linen and among his wardrobe twelve rich campaign suits, six dancing suits, and twelve pair of dancing shoes.[3]

This type of fop Charles Shadwell has transferred into a naval *milieu* in the "*Fair Quaker of Deal*," though here, in accommodation to his surroundings, Mizen is naturally less an epicure than a dandy, and his soldierly valour is rendered more conspicuous. On stepping ashore he orders the cockswain to go to the perfumer's and buy him a gallon of orange-flower water, a pint of jessamin oil, and a bushel of sweet-powder.[4] Gloves and a periwig are indispensable articles of his toilet. He puts on a clean shirt every day, and is seen in a laced jacket.[5] The furnishing of his cabin is as great a consideration with him as the fitting up of his tent with Sir Nicholas. A field-bed, furbelow'd toilet, and muslin curtains figure among its luxuries.[6] The captain affirms that "no town-lady's withdrawing-room, nor country gentle-woman's closet is nicer furnished than my cabin; 'tis wainscoted with most charming India Japan, and looking-glass; I have a very noble scrutoire, and the most celebrated screen in Europe; I have an invention which makes the great guns in my cabin appear to be elbow-chairs covered with cloth of tissue; I have six-and-thirty silver-sconces, and every vacancy is cramm'd with china."[7] To complete his foppishness Mizen imitates the ladies as near as he can in his conversation,[8] keeps a visiting-day and, like his brother beau Sir Nicholas, holds receiving and writing *billets-doux* one of the distinctive features of a gentleman of fashion.

[1] *The Volunteers*, III, i. [2] *The Volunteers*, III, i. [3] *ib.*
[4] *Fair Quaker*, I, iv. [5] *ib.*
[6] *The Fair Quaker*, I, iv. [7] I, v. [8] *ib.*

For the character of his counterpart, too, a pattern is given in "*The Stockjobbers.*" There, the military fop is shown off against the Major-General, Blunt not only by name, rough in his speech, but brave, honest, and a good patriot.[1] All these characteristics apply as accurately to Flip. Again, like the captain, the General is fond of his bottle and pipe, and his men follow his example. "Fear not, he says to his old Cavaliers, according to your laudable customs, you shall be drunk, swagger and fight over all your battles, from Edge-hill to Brentford."[2] The Commodore, after the Virginia fleet has cast anchor at Deal, will make all the boat's crew drunk according to ancient custom.[3] To the volunteering dandy the General stands in very much the same relation as Flip to his younger comrade. A coxcomb of Sir Nicholas' descripton must needs appear to him a "monstrum horrendum," good only for being made a laughing-stock. "A-dod, go thy ways, boy, he says to him, if any guardian in England shews such an excellent, such a finished fop, for his ward, as I have of thee, I'll be crucified."[4] Flip, quarelling with his brother-tar, maintains "that no animal is so ridiculous as a monkey, except it be his charming imitator, a beau."[4] In the eyes of the beau, however, Blunt is a man of "old fashioned breeding" and Flip "an unlicked bear." Cromwell's army Sir Nicholas calls "a filthy, slovenly army." "I warrant you, not a well dress'd man among the Roundheads."[6] "The customs of the world alter, ... war is another thing now; we must live well in a camp, that's our business."[7] Similar to Sir Nicholas' conception of warfare Mizen wants to reform the manners of the navy. "I don't mean a fighting navy, for that's the least part of

[1] Cp. the *dram. pers.* in *The Stockjobbers.*
[2] *The Volunteers*, III, I.
[3] *The Fair Quaker*, III, VII.
[4] *The Volunteers*, III, I.
[5] *The Fair Quaker*, I, IV.
[6] *The Volunteers*, III, I. [7] *ib.* II.

our business."[1] Indignant at "those who wear their shirts till they are lousy," he is for "a navy of proper, handsome, well-drest fellows; that, when it appears abroad, may be the wonder of the world for glittering, shining coats, powdered wigs, snuff boxes, and fashionable airs."[2] In deference to the ladies he generally treats with tea on his visiting-day, when "the stink" of tobacco is not tolerated.[3] In short, his sailors are to become gentlemen sailors, a species of seamen which Flip abhors as effeminate. Blunt, on giving a ball in his house, gets the tea-table ready "for the women and men that live like women; a-dod, your fine bred men of England, as they call them, are all turned women; but, by my troth, I'll not turn my back to the pipe and bottle after dinner."[4] The military coxcombs are looked down upon by the two old warriors as desertless creatures, no matter, if they are of high blood or not. The general would as lief be burnt in the hand as be knighted, if he had shown no virtue in the world,[5] and the captain maintains that "the best commodores that ever went between two ends of a ship, had not a drop of nobility in them, thank Heaven."[6] Honour, to their idea, consists in fighting well, and this they believe incompatible with fine dress and perfumery. That army which Sir Nicholas had called filthy and slovenly, Blunt says "would so thrash your swearing, drinking, fine fellows in lac'd coats, just such as you of the drawing room and Locket's fellows are now, and so strip by the Lord Harry, that after a battle those saints look'd like the Israelites loaden with the Egyptian baggage."[7] The commodore should welcome it if he were in a sawpit together with Mizen, "with each a blunderbuss; I'd try if I could not make a sieve of thy lac'd

[1] *The Fair Quaker*, II, IX. [2] *ib.* [3] I v.
[4] *The Volunteers*, III, I. [5] *ib.*, act II.
[6] *Fair Quaker*, I, III.
[7] *The Volunteers*, III, I.

jacket; I'd soon singe thy curls so that thy wig should hang like a parcel of rigging after an engagement." [1]

With as great a likeness as his character we find the commodore's part of the plot chalked out in the works of our dramatist's father. In "*Epsom Wells*" Mrs. Jilt, "a silly affected whore," endeavours to take in Clodpate, a country justice, whom she knows to be "an immoderate hater of London." Her sister Peg, in cleverly advancing her design upon the justice, plays the part of Indent and Cribbidge in the "*Fair Quaker*." She makes her pass for a poor, innocent country lady, and breaks the secret to him that "she is extremely taken with his worship." [2] Indent tells the captain that Jiltup was impatient to see him, "for you was the handsomest man in the navy and the best natured captain in the whole fleet." [3] Though poor, Jilt says, she has been offered the love of knights and lords, whom she scorned.[4] Flip is informed that a rich Kentish gentleman wants to make Jiltup his wife.[5] For money the gentlemen do not care. Clodpate recommends himself to his beloved by telling her that he has got £2000 a year.[6] The captain, in his turn, knows that he is going to marry "a plain country pinnace with no gay gildings either at poop or stern," but "a pox of portions," he has got "yellow boys" enough thanks to a good harvest in Her Majesty's service.[7]

The discovery of their foolish mistake, too, is represented in a very similar manner. In the last act of "*Epsom Wells*," Peg wishes her "sister" joy, and in the "*Fair Quaker*," Act V, Jiltup calls Jenny her "sweet cousin." Clodpate asks, "Is she her sister?" and Flip "Her cousin, say you?" Bevil makes known to Clodpate that his "country lady..

[1] *Fair Quaker*, I, IV.
[2] *Epsom Wells*, V.
[3] *Fair Quaker*, III, VII.
[4] *Epsom Wells*, V.
[5] *Fair Quaker*, IV, V.
[6] *Epsom Wells*, V.
[7] *Fair Quaker*, V. IV.

had lived in London all her life." The captain is told by his "pretty lady bird" that she had lived "at London," in "the neighbourhood of Covent Garden." Jilt and Jiltup make it even their glory to proclaim their shame before all who are present, and the two lubbers are left to vent their rage in the then usual curses and imprecations. Matters, however, are not gone so far, but upon good terms the gentlemen can be released. Both Clodpate and Flip offer "a leg or an arm" for compensation. After their purses have been made to suffer and articles of release are signed, the "wedlock-nooses" are untied and the parsons made known as sham ones, *viz.* Cribbidge and Mr. Woodly's man respectively.

The main source from which Charles Shadwell has drawn is to be found in the works of his father; this with respect to plot as well as characters.[1]

The plot of the "*Fair Quaker*" consists in 3 ludicrous mystifications. Of these Arabella's stratagem is clearly marked in the "*Squire of Alsatia,*" and the marriage-trick put upon Flip and Mizen—one of the most hackneyed *motifs* in Restoration comedy—in "*Epsom Wells*" and elsewhere in Thomas Shadwell.

The use of the Quaker may already have been suggested to our author by the "*Humours of the Age.*" a play to which, besides, the "*Fair Quaker*" bears great resemblance in point of general disposition.

As to the characters it is Thomas again who has lent colour to the *dramatis personae* of his son's comedy. We have seen that Flip and Mizen, the two leading figures, correspond with Major-General Blunt and Sir Nicholas in the "*Volunteers, or The Stockjobbers.*"

[1] See also p. 19, *The Five New Plays*, and p. 14, *The Humours of the Army*.

Literal adaptations, however, there are very few, and the two last named characters may well stand as original creations of Charles Shadwell, showing a great deal of his father's power of dramatic observation of actual life.[1]

III. THE QUAKER IN THE COMEDY OF THE 18th CENTURY.

In its bearing upon the personal temper and conduct of men the conception of life of the Puritan had among its effects a certain gravity and reflectiveness, which gave its tone to the lightest details of his converse with the world about him. Keeping his temper under strict self-control, he was deliberate in thought, speech, and acts; his life was orderly and methodical, sparing in diet and sober in dress. Its quaintest forms this view of life called forth in the manners of the Puritan's younger spiritual brother, the Quaker,[2] to whom, for this reason, the former seems to have resigned his *rôle* in comedy with the beginning of the 18th century. It was, in particular, the Puritan idea of spiritual equality which Quakers carried to an extreme in their use of "thee" and "thou" to everybody, the retention

[1] Cp. Introd. to Saintbury's *Thomas Shadwell.*

[2] The earliest documentary name for the society of the Quakers is "Children of Light." It was soon superseded by the designation of "Friends of Truth," abbreviated into "Friends." Their popular nickname was given to them at Derby on 30th October, 1650, by the wit of Gervese Bennet, a hard-headed oracle of the local bench. George Fox, their first head, had bidden the magistrates "tremble at the word of the Lord," whereupon Bennet retorted upon Fox and Fretwell the name of "quakers." Dict. of N. Biogr.

of their hats before superiors, their disuse of complimentary phrases, etc. These eccentricities were taken advantage of as a butt for satire by comic authors, who, in doing so, continued the tradition of the stage, which had since the days of Elizabeth never flagged in pouring abuse and disdain on precisionists and their affected formality.[1] The present attempt to determine the various quakerish traits as reflected in 18th century comedy is based upon the following list of plays:

1. *The Humour(s) of the Age*, com., 1701, by Thomas Baker.
2. *The Beaus' Duel*, com., 1702, by Mrs. Centlivre.
3. *Vice Reclaimed*, com., 1703, by Richard Wilkinson.
4. *The Fair Quaker of Deal*, com., 1710, by Charles Shadwell.
5. *The Petticoat Plotter*, f., 1712, by Newburgh Hamilton.
6. *Gotham Election*, f., 1715, by Mrs. Centlivre.
7. *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, f., 1718, by Mrs. Centlivre
8. *The Quaker's Opera*, f. op., 1728, by Thomas Walker.
9. *The Lovers' Opera*, op., 1729, by Will. Rufus Chetwood.
10. *The Devil upon Two Sticks*, com., 1768, by Sam. Foote.
11. *The Quaker*, com. op., 1775, by Charles Dibdin.
12. *The Young Quaker*, com., 1783, by O'Keefe.

The sect of the Quakers had been founded half a century before the stage began to take notice of them. The reason why they were not until then made the object of ridicule may be found in the fact that oppression had kept them a pure body that was composed, with scarcely an exception, of sincere persons, and as such it was hardly

[1] Cp. Nicholas, Simon, and Frailty in *The Puritaine or The Widow of Watling Streete*; Tribulation Wholesome and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*; Bird and Mrs. Flowerdew in *The Muses' Looking Glass*, by Thomas Randolph; Dorcas in *The City Match*, by Jasper Mayne; Obadiah in *The Committee*, by Sir Robert Howard; Fondlewife in Congreve's *Old Bachelor*; Th. Shadwell's *Stockjobbers*. Mrs. Hutchinson, in her *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, records how every stage, every table, every puppet-play scoffed at the Puritans, and how fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them as finding it the most gainful way of fooling.

fit for the purposes of satirical comedy. Macaulay points out that "the general fate of sects is to obtain a high reputation for sanctity while they are oppressed, and to lose it as soon as they become powerful."[1] Under the leadership of Penn (1644—1718) the Quakers had greatly risen in the estimation of the public and the court. The favour of the mighty courtier became the road to riches and dignities. Whereas nobody would join the society as long as they were persecuted, now, false brethren were sure to intrude themselves into their fold, and the people, quick as they are at generalisation, were inclined to form their estimate of the whole body from these hypocrites.

Among the many peculiarities of the Quaker his language is the one that is most generally put to satirical use.

---

1. THE QUAKER'S LANGUAGE.

The characteristic slang common to the various avocations and orders of society, the "talk of the shop," the reproduction of some singularity or perversity of language is a stage device as old as comedy itself. In the case of the Quaker it was the solemn and antiquated language of the Scriptures used in every day talk that was calculated to excite the mirth of a theatrical audience. As a revival of a Puritan singularity it was sure to encounter public derision and contempt along with every thing that savoured of Puritanism.

The Quakers avoided expressions the use of which—in their opinion—involved idolatry.[2] The months and days of the week they call first, second, third, etc. To talk of January, March, Wednesday, was to worship Janus, Mars, and Wodan. Dorcas Zeal asks her disguised sister: "How chanceth it that in so long a silence thou hast stifled up

[1] Hist. of Engl., chap. II.

[2] Cp. Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.*, chap. XVII.

the breathings of thy heart from the fifth month even to the ninth?" If they use "heathen" names they stigmatise them as such. Thus in the "*Fair Quaker*" Arabella talks of "that season worldly men call Whitsuntide." Churches they nickname "steeple-houses." "Who can tell," Arabella says to her sister, "were he thy chosen yoke-make, but he'd force thee to one of his own steeple-houses; nay, and perhaps lead thee in vain toppings to a carnal seat in one of the sad playhouses."

The circumstantial, unctuous, and paraphrastic mode of speech as practised by Quakers in imitation of the Bible is satirised in numbers of instances.

Dr. Melchisedech Broadbrim[1] invites friend Habakkuk to "step to the inn that taketh its name from the city of Lincoln, to inquire there for a man with a red rag at his back, a small black cap on his pate and a bushel of hair on his breast. I think they call him a sergeant." Aminadab Prim, in "*The Lovers' Opera*," is, in contempt of this whim, made to say that his outward man "yearneth and doth pant, as it were, to embrace thee [Flora] that of twain we may become one flesh—fast bound, entwin'd together, locked in the lock, which is called wedlock, hum!" "The Young Quaker" having acquired a taste for the fashionable language of the town rails at the cant of his own sect. Talking to Lounge, his servant, he says: "Do thou desire the coachman to take two horses out of the stable and buckle them with leathern thongs unto the vehicle with four wheels and let them draw it to the porch of my dwelling."

Lounge: Sir! (stares.)

Young Quaker: Zounds, you rascal, order the coach to the door!"

For the sake of emphasis parts of a sentence are repeated with a prefixed "yea," or parallelled after the fashion

[1] See *A Devil upon Two Sticks* by Foote.

of Hebrew poetry. This style of talk is led *ad absurdum* in Mrs. Centlivre's "*Bold Stroke for a Wife.*" Obadiah Prim taking the sham conversion of his ward by the colonel for truth launches out into fustian like this: "My soul rejoiceth, yea, rejoiceth, I say, to find the spirit within thee; for lo, it moveth thee with natural agitation—yea, with natural agitation, towards this good man—yea, it stirreth, as one may say—yea, verily I say it stirreth up thy inclination—yea, as one would stir a pudding."

Such cant—here no doubt grossly overdone—delivered in the sanctimonious key and with the stern looks of the zealous must in its effect have been farcical enough. The usual tone of voice of the godly is characterised as puling[1] and by expressions like "nostril piety"[2] and "whining faith."[3]

The exuberant religious fancy and ranting verbosity of the early "*Children of Light*" Fox had curbed by imposing on them his system of silent "meetings for discipline." This system was completed by the institution of the yearly meeting alluded to in the "*Fair Quaker*," and first held on 6th January 1669. Its salutary effect is apparent in the plainness of speech with which Fox's disciples have been credited up to the present day. This plainness blended well with their love of truth. Fox's "verily" was accepted as a final word in a bargain. "To drive a Quaker's bargain and make but one word with you" occurs in Vanbrugh's "*Provoked Wife.*" According to the "*Fair Quaker*" the marriage formula of the "Friends" used to run like this: "I, a true brother A. (Christian name), take thee, a true sister B., to have and to hold, to love and to cherish." The Quaker in "*Gotham Election*" is represented as sparing of words. He silently fills the glasses of the christening party

[1] See *The Character of a Quaker in his True and Proper Colours*, London, 1704.

[2] *Vice Reclaimed*, I.

[3] *Fair Quaker*, I, VII.

without joining in their vociferous discussion, and when asked about his vote he answers with reluctance but candidly.

Swear not at all! is one of their fundamental truths.[1] In several instances we hear the yea-and-nay-man rebuke the profane for swearing. But no more than swear words do we meet in any of the comedies mentioned a "good morning" or "good evening" on the lips of a Quaker. Those phrases evidently imported that God had made bad days and bad nights. Neither was the true Christian, in addressing an individual, allowed to use the second person plural. This would—in a time when the plural was adopted towards a superior in rank and the singular towards an inferior—have been accounted a species of adulation which they were not justified in complying with.[2] Thus they were heard thee-ing and thou-ing indiscriminately the magistrate and the beggar.

Another point in which the "Friends" laid themselves open to ridicule was their frequent use of hum-s and ha-s as signs of inward emotion. The theatre-goer may have heard them before from the stage in derision of the Puritan. Subtle, by way of holding out the bait to Tribulation Wholesome, says: "You may be anything and leave off to make long-winded exercises, or suck up your ha! and hum! in a tune." Mrs. Centlivre lavishly strews quakerish dialogue with hum-s[3] and Prim in "*The Lovers' Opera*" sings:—

> Wou'd that gentle dove
> Humh, on a friend look kind, ah,
> Who in purest love
> Humh! is to her inclin'd ah! etc.

Act III, scene I, of "*Vice Reclaimed*" discovers Widow Purelight and Sir Feeble in his Quaker's dress at a table. Their dialogue opens with a prelude of alternate hum-s and sighs.

[1] Quakers (that, like lanterns, bear their light within them) will not swear. Butler, *Hudibras* II, 2.

[2] Cp. Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.*, chap. XVII.

[3] In *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*.

These sounds, produced by a skilful actor and supported by clever mimicry, were doubtless productive of a great deal of merriment. They were not, however, the way to sport with females. "Monsieur hum, ha!" says Varole to Prim, just alluded to, "you know noting, marbleu, noting at all.—Letta me come." Nor did quakerish peculiarities in general find much favour in the eyes of ladies. Steady, the rich Quaker in Dibdin's "*Quaker*," is refused by Gillian. Sententious Solomon, in the same opera, will be accepted by Floretta, when he has left off his proverbs and got rid of all his musty old sayings. When he has done so, she will "desire him to leave off something else at the rate of one in a month; he won't have parted with all his particularities in 7 years." Mrs. Lovely [1], before recognising Fainwell in his disguise, indignantly refuses the "enthusiastical canter."

Lucy, the chambermaid in "*The Lovers' Opera*," is of another mind. She is able to see some good even in a Quaker's religion, and has taken in Prim to marry her in a mask. Her argument is this:—

Among your sect we see
The women inspir'd will preach,
And therefore I will agree,
Because, in my turn, I'll teach.
Such opinions, shure,
Must needs be pure
That leave us the tongue at will, etc.

2. CREED.

Not the language only as an outcome of their sectarian individuality the dramatist considered an object worthy of his satire, he went one step further and attacked the Quaker's creed.

[1] *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, V.

The one great doctrine of the Friends is that all religion consists in the inward operation of the Holy Spirit. Jesus was not the son of God, he was a mere man, but a man whom God inspired in a greater measure than other men.[1] They deny the Resurrection and future Judgment, abstain from the Sacraments, recognise no ministry, and think very little of the Bible.[2] Their notion of the Supreme Being makes man to be of the same substance, essence, and person of God, and equal to Him.[3] In this last dogma we distinctly perceive traces of the mystic pantheism of Jakob Böhme, whose works had for a time been Fox's only reading.[4] Of all their tenets none was hailed with so much scurrilous abuse as that of the spirit or inward light in obedience to which every action in man's life was to be performed. People quite naturally supposed that the laws of the flesh, in asserting their legitimate claims, would jar upon such high-strung spirituality, that the thoughts and deeds begotten under compulsion of those laws could not in any way be taken as produced at the call of the spirit. Satire lay near at hand. It was provoked furthermore by that notorious Quaker pride which Wilkes calls the most disgusting thing in the world.[5] Against the wicked, the profane, and the worldly, they were—in their own conceit—the pure ones, the godly, and the upright, who, with the halo of sanctity round their heads, looked down, contemptuously, upon "the vanities of this world." Dorcas, in the "*Fair Quaker of Deal,*" rebukes her sister for her thoughts which "run much upon the vanity of this world," and on learning that she is her rival in love disdainfully answers: "Poor vain creature! thou art handsome,

[1] *Primitive Heresie* etc., by the author of *The Snake in the Grass*, London, 1698.

[2] Cp. *Snake in the Grass*, III part, p. 202: They call the Bible beastly ware, death, dust, and serpent's meat.

[3] Ib., p. 13.

[4] Cp. Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

[5] See Murray, Dict. of the E. Language.

it's true; but thou hast not the virtues of the mind to ensnare him with."

The "Light of the Spirit," the "inward man," the "voice of instruction," are a mockery to the poet, whenever "an upright member of the cause" rises to his pen. In "*The Beaus' Duel*" Toper recommends Mrs. Plotwell, a lady of the demi-monde in Quaker livery, to Careful for a wife in the following words: "You can't be better matched, if she has not too much; yesterday I carried her to wait on a relation of ours that has a parrot, and whilst I was discoursing about some private business she converted the bird, and now it talks of nothing but the Light of the Spirit and the inward man. Ha, ha."

In close alliance to this dogma of the Spirit the Quaker attached great importance to visions. The ordinary man called them mere dreams and scoffed at the "saint" who wanted to pass off each caprice of his fancy as a divine revelation. The Colonel, in "*A Bold Stroke*," makes their belief in visions answer his ends. He has entered Prim's house in a Quaker's habit with the purpose of gaining Prim's consent to his marriage with Mrs. Lovely. Intently looking at the maiden, he tells Prim and his wife how he had seen this very damsel in a vision and saved her from the verge of a precipice. Prim is persuaded that this vision portends the conversion of the damsel who is yet one of the ungodly. The whole spiritual farce, as it is now performed by the two lovers in presence of the "quaking" couple, is one long jest on the Quakers' notion of the Spirit. It is carried out with a great deal of "go," and terminated by the following oratorical flourish of Mr. Prim: "Yea, the light within sheweth me that I shall fight a good fight—and wrestle thro' those reprobate friends, thy other guardians;—yea, I perceive the spirit will hedge thee into the flock of the righteous.—Thou art a chosen lamb—yea, a chosen lamb, and I will not push thee back.—No, I will not, I say;—no, thou shalt leap—a, and frisk—a, and skip

—a, and bound, and bound, I say,—yea, bound within the fold of the righteous—yea, even within thy fold, my brother. —Fetch me the pen and ink, Sarah—and my hand shall confess its obedience to the spirit."

It cannot be denied that such jests on religion are open to the charge of vulgarity. To Canker's request: "Instruct us when we may laugh with propriety" Foote gives the following answer: "At an old beau, a superannuated beauty, a military coward, a stuttering orator, or a gouty dancer. In short, whoever affects to be what he is not or strives to be what he cannot be is an object worthy the poet's pen, and your mirth."[1] He might have included in his list the human being that affects a spirituality which it is out of his power to attain. The question whether or not the dramatists under examination had a touch fine enough to ridicule pretenders to religion without ridiculing religion itself may go unanswered. Suffice it to say that their first consideration was the exposure of hypocrisy rather than any direct mockery at religion. Obadiah Prim, in "*A Bold Stroke*," is above all represented as a hypocrite and a mean dissembler. He pretends to have a great aversion for the naked breasts, the "provokers to sin" of his pretty ward, and, Tartuffe like, asks her to hide them with a handkerchief. "Verily, thy naked breasts troubleth my outward man; I pray thee hide 'em, Anne; put on a handkerchief, Anne Lovely." His sanctity is soon enough betrayed by Mrs. Lovely, who makes known what passed between him and Mary last night in the pantry. To Mrs. Prim, who in common with her husband is abusing her for being "tainted with the rottenness of the fashions," she boldly declares: "I know, you have as much pride, vanity, self-conceit, and ambition among you, couched under that formal habit and sanctified countenance as the proudest of us all; but the world begins to see your prudery."

[1] Introduction to the *Minor*, by Foote.

Sir Feeble, in "*Vice Reclaimed*," attempts to conquer the heart of the widow in the language of the godly. With the help of a few drams of the "*Brethrens' Reconciler*" her religious fears and dissembled resistance are soon overcome. At the tavern Sir Feeble orders to fill her a glass. "Nay, fuller, and she shall drink it though the Pope had dipt his great toe in it.—Nay, take it or by the greatness of— Widow: Swear not at all—I will take it. But let the evil spirit that forceth it upon me bear the blame." The dialogue between Sir Feeble and Widow Purelight consists throughout the comedy of holy cant employed in the expression of rank sensuality. To make a pretended saint own "carnal inclinations" and to show him falling under the temptations of the flesh has ever been a favourite *motif* of the comic stage. The Quaker especially laid himself open to this kind of ridicule.

3. DRESS, MANNERS, ETC.

From early Puritan times the "Friends" had also adopted unconventional ways in point of dress. Religion and opposition to the extravagance of the Court party drove the Puritans to dress reform. Pride in apparel is condemned by many scriptural texts as manifesting an earthly or worldly spirit. The Society of Friends reduced the objects of dress to decency and comfort. They recommended simplicity and plainness, but without prescribing any standard in form or colour, and left their members to clothe themselves consistently with these as it was agreeable to their convenience or their disposition. The men used to wear broad-brimmed hats, the crown being of the shape of an upturned flower-pot, a small collar or "band" with tassels at the end of the band-strings, a long dark-coloured coat unbuttoned half-way up, and a simple cloak thrown over their shoulders.[1] The way they had in not taking

[1] See the engraving in Trail & Mann, *Social England* V, 311. London 1896.

off their hats before anybody was considered one of their most shocking manners.[1] It gives rise to some buffoonery in "*The Young Quaker*", where Chronicle knocks off Young Sadboy's hat. He cannot understand that to be religious a Quaker must needs be impolite. At the same moment Young Sadboy's formal way of entering the room (here the stage) and stiff quakerish posture before the ladies to whom he is introduced are turned to comic gain.[2] Chronicle bids him to leave the Quaker in Philadelphia and—for a time—be a gentleman.

Plainness in dress was equally observed by the fair sex. In the "*Beaus' Duel*" we hear Mrs. Plotwell expostulate the question in the following manner: "I say that mankind are not made for foppery and pride but to do good in their generation.—Prithee, show me one text of Scripture for the fashions, or where jewels are commanded, or what holy matron ever had a valet to dress them as they say the French ladies have. Oh monstrous fashions!"

At a time when long wigs, hooped coats, and patches were worn, the writer for the stage cannot but have welcomed a personage like the Quaker as a means of contrast in matters of dress and fashion and a help in carrying a greater variety of colour into his *dramatis personae*.

Among the garments worn by female Quakers a black hood seems to have met with general approbation, likewise a green apron and a neckerchief covering their shoulders. With those who set great store on modesty the impression can only have been a favourable one. Tremilia[3] continues the quakerish dress as a safeguard to her modesty and virtue, and indeed, it is her virtue that inflicts the first wound on the heart of Freeman.

[1] For Fox's argument for this dogma see Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.*, chap. XVII.

[2] *Ib.*, on bowing.

[3] *Humours of the Age*, V.

Careful grows fond of Mrs. Plotwell because she is handsome and very modestly dressed. He will recommend her as a pattern to his niece and daughter. That Quakers were noted for neatness and tidiness in their outward appearance we may judge from the name Prim given to two of their members in "*The Lovers' Opera*" and in "*A Bold Stroke for a Wife.*"[1]

Mrs. Lovely, notwithstanding, worries herself to death on account of that dress to which she is condemned in the house of Obadiah Prim, one of her four guardians. "Oh! I could tear my flesh and curse the hour I was born.—Isn't it monstrously ridiculous that they should desire to impose their quaking dress upon me at these years? When I was a child, no matter what they made me wear, but now—" Mrs. Prim tries to make it less repulsive to her by pointing out that "if admirers be thy aim thou wilt have more of them in this dress than the other.—The men, take my word for't, are more desirous to see what we are most careful to conceal," whereupon Anne malignantly retorts: "Is that the reason of your formality, Mrs. Prim? Truth will out: I ever thought, indeed, there was more design than goodness in the pinched cap."[2]

Such agonies as Anne Lovely's the Quakeress of later generations was spared. The society imperceptibly followed the world if first only in its improvements of clothing and, as was the case with many others of their peculiarities, finally merged in the ruling fashion of contemporary society.[3]

The early Quakers were not yet congregated in large towns, but were generally engaged in agriculture, a pursuit from which they have been gradually driven by the vexations consequent on their strange scruple about paying

[1] George Eliot still speaks of "quakerish neatness" in 1876. See Murray, Dict. of the Engl. language.

[2] *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, Act V.

[3] Cp. Clarkson, *Portraiture of Quakerism*, I, 272.

tithes.[1] The Quaker in Dibdin's opera is still represented in rural surroundings as a landowner on a large scale and benevolent father to the villagers. Tremilia, in the "*Humours of the Age*," is described in the *dramatis personae* as a "civiliz'd" Quaker. This epithet seems to point back towards the early occupation of the society. In 18th century comedy, wherever their calling is stated, we mostly find them among business people. Old Sadboy had sent his son Reuben over to England to transact great business for the faithful in Philadelphia. "Hast thou been among the merchants, or among the sugar-bakers, or among the tobacco-sellers?" he inquires. Obadiah Prim is a hosier, and the Quaker in "*Gotham Election*" a wine merchant. Frugal, industrious, and wary in their dealing, ensuring the confidence of the public by their veracity, many among them acquired great wealth. Of the real (not sham) Quakers that occur in the comedies specified on p. 2 the majority are expressly said to be very rich.

Compared with the Puritan the Quaker is not represented with so much emphasis as a narrow-minded hypocrite. That gentleness of disposition and kindness of heart for which the society is known in history are thrown into strong relief in the figures of Young Sadboy and Steady. The former is characterised as a generous and warm-hearted youth and twice made the instrument of justice. His firm declaration to liberate, on his return to America, the slaves on his own plantations reminds us of the meritorious efforts of the Quakers in the cause of the abolition of the slave-trade.—Steady is revered by his people as a man who never forfeits his word and one to whom charitable actions yield more exquisite sensations than the gratifying of his passions. Possessed of a noble desire to promote the happiness of mankind he is the very type of that probity and philanthropy as they are embodied for all ages in the memory of his fellow-sectary, the founder and lawgiver of Pennsylvania.

[1] Macaulay, *Hist. of E.*, IV.

4. THE STAGE-MOTIFS OF EQUIVOKE, VIOLATION OF PROPRIETY, AND CONTRAST USED THROUGH THE QUAKER.

Besides being held up to public derision on account of his sectarian eccentricities, the figure of the Quaker found employment for some *motifs* which aim at comicality without any satirical purpose.

A powerful lever of comic stage effect is known by the name of equivoke. The Quaker's dress used as a disguise[1] is the occasion of some excellent equivoke scenes; so in the famous *quid pro quo* of "the real Simon Pure"[2] in "*A Bold Stroke for a Wife.*"

Colonel Fairwell having assumed Pure's name and character is received in his stead, and plays his part so well that, on his appearance, the real Simon Pure, "a quaking preacher," is out-canted by him and turned out of doors. —In the same play occurs another instance of effective equivoke of situation and dialogue. It is that spiritual force already referred to, where the Colonel and Anne Lovely, in quakerish discourse, carry on a love-scene which Mr. and Mrs. Prim take to be the damsel's conversion to their own doctrine.[3] In the "*Fair Quaker*" Charles Shadwell avails himself of this device in III, 1 and V, 1—11.[4] Similarly, Mrs. Plotwell,[5] a former mistress to Bellmein, undertakes to make herself agreeable to Careful in the dress and language of a Quaker. Delighted with the seeming modesty of her behaviour and outward appearance,

[1] See *The Humours of the Age*, *The Beaus' Duel*, *Vice Reclaimed*, *The Fair Quaker*, *The Petticoat Plotter*, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife.*

[2] About Mrs. Centlivre's use of *The Petticoat Plotter* in her *Bold Stroke for a Wife*, see Genest, II, p. 498.

[3] See p. 90 f.

[4] See p. 33 f. and 40 f.

[5] *The Beaus' Duel.*

he wants to marry her, and, on her consent, thinks himself the happiest man.

In the "*Young Quaker*" Young Sadboy is made the instrument of another kind of comic action. It is that which consists in the violation of propriety. He has been sent over from America to London on business. No sooner has he arrived than he acquires a taste for the fashionable amusements of the town. His youthful temper is seen at war against the constraint put upon him by his uniform and the pious etiquette of his creed. He has already been to the theatre and concerts, and has engaged a dancing and fencing master. His "yea" and "nay" is succeeded by "zounds" and "damn." The boarding house, where the scene is laid, rings with his hunting song and the call for his beagles. His father, who expects him to walk with the righteous, meets him in his masquerade-dress as Alexander the Great. In each case quakerish propriety is grossly violated, all such amusements being accounted an abomination in the fold of the pure ones. But the youth has not lost all self-control, or entirely given up the manners of his sect; his quakerish conscience still acts as a brake upon his worldly dispositions. A drunken coachman persues him demanding an unreasonable fare: "Another word, you rascal, and I'll break your—friend, depart in peace."

A farcical scene is constructed on the assumption that Quakers don't fight, but that, if struck on one cheek, they would, according to the law of Christ, turn the other rather than strike back.[1] Young Sadboy has received a "good" blow from Shadrach, who does not expect him to strike back. Young Sadboy, however, wants to return tenfold that which is "good." He thereupon exhibits to the spectators the *tableau* of an enraged Quaker kicking and buffeting a vile Jew round the stage. With a dance of five Quakers we are treated in "*Vice Reclaimed*," and in the

[1] Cp. Dryden's "quaking Hare" in *The Hind and the Panther*, in allusion to the Quaker's peacefulness.

"*Quaker's Opera*" one of the brethren is shown in the company of a canteen-woman, a kiss from whose lips inspires him to a dissolute song. He is, into the bargain, made to drink brandy and talk smut.

Needless to say that in nearly all plays where a Quaker is introduced the author takes care to show him off by the venerable device of contrast. His sanctified speech is put side by side with the rough sailor's idiom,[1] or heard from the rooms of a tavern.[2] His reserved peacefulness and sobriety are contrasted with the commotion and clamorous tumult of his surrounding,[3] or, as in the case of the *Beaus' Duel*, suddenly turned into the unbridled frivolities of town-life. His austerity in dress and deportment as a means of contrast has already been alluded to.[4]

---

[1] *The Fair Quaker*.

[2] *Vice Reclaimed*.

[3] *The Devil upon Two Sticks*, and *Gotham Election*.

[4] See p. 92 f.

CONCLUSION.

The Restoration Comedy had ended early in the 18th century, and with it the English drama, as far as any question of evolution is concerned, came to a standstill. No more great comedies were produced, until we come to the names of Goldsmith and Sheridan. What deserves mention apart from these is some talent which the century showed in farce-writing. It is among stage literature of this kind that we must rank the plays named on p. 83, and in which the Quaker puts in his appearance. He is essentially a figure of low comedy and farce, serving the purposes of intrigue, indelicate caricature, and low buffoonery. No great writer has taken notice of him. That he has not met with a treatment more in keeping with his practical good sense, honourable nature, and the intellectual merit of his doctrine of the Inner Light, may be attributed to the fact that the time when Quakerism flourished coincided with a period of decadence in the history of the English drama, a period, when the morality of the stage was at a very low level, and stage exhibition had sunk to mere farce. After the moral tone of the theatre had improved, Quakerism had spent its force, and the interest it might still have attracted was crowded out by more prominent tendencies in the social life of the time.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

Form L-9-15m-3,'34

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES
LIBRARY

PR.
3671 Schenk -
S75fZs Charles
Shadwell.

PR
3671
S75fZs

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 366 007 3